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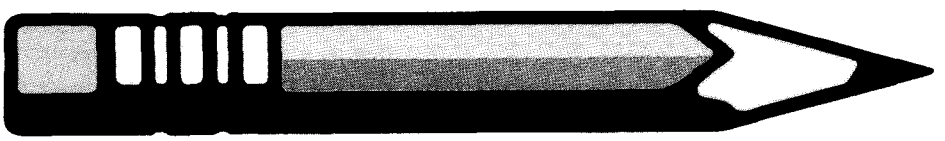

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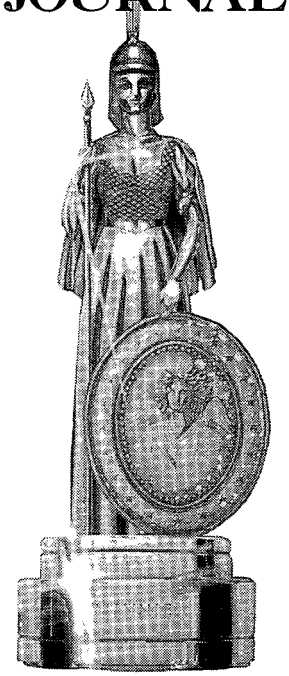
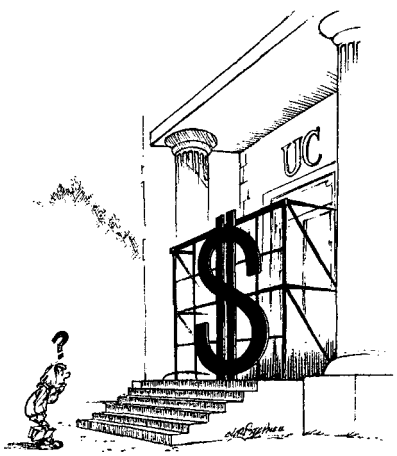


The Minnies 8
It's a repeat performance for the top state senator and Assembly member in California Journal's *biennial ranking of state lawmakers.*
By Richard Zeiger

Controller 1994 21
Incumbent controller Gray Davis is running for lieutenant governor, and four Democrats and a pair of Republicans will try to win his old job.
By Mary Beth Barber

Higher education 25
With California's colleges and universities beginning to charge tuition to resident students, the old California Master Plan for Higher Education seems a thing of the past.
By Steve Scott

Secretary of State 1994 33
Democrat March Fong Eu is off to become ambassador to Micronesia after 20 years as secretary of state, and her departure has opened the door for a small squad of wanna-bes.
By Danielle Starkey



Up Front 4
Two Cents 6
The Bottom Line 17
Soapbox 37
Notebook 38
Washington Perspective 40

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Softball league. "60 Minutes," CBS News' Sunday night magazine, seemed to have slipped a bit from the hardball days when Mike Wallace stuck a camera in the face of a National City meat packer to accuse him mislabeling beef. At least, that was the impression left by a piece last month on Kathleen Brown. Watching the segment was like tuning in to a political version of "Home Run Derby" as Brown clobbered softball after softball tossed her way by correspondent Morely Safer. There was no tough question about her flip-flop on NAFTA, nor any mention of two other pitchers who might be hurling laser heat at her in 1994 — John Garamendi and Pete Wilson.

An early valentine? "60 Minutes" producer Marti Galovic doesn't see it that way. "We didn't see this as a Kathleen Brown promotion," she said. "It was really a piece about the whole family, the dynasty." The program included interviews with parents Pat and Bernice, and with brother Jerry.

According to Galovic, "60 Minutes" interviewed Kathleen Brown in May or June of 1993; the segment then was cut in August. That, Galovic insisted, was long before the NAFTA controversy and long before Brown was a candidate for governor. It was not, however, before she was working feverishly to raise money to run for governor. Galovic admitted that she might have been uncomfortable with the segment had it run *after* Brown officially declared for governor — an event that took place in mid-February. And Galovic dismissed the notion, suggested by some, that the segment's fuzzy warm nature was influenced by the treasurer's husband, former CBS News prexy Van Gordon Sauter. Sauter, Galovic said, was fired by CBS News — a fact mentioned in the segment.

Blindsided. About the last thing that Democratic gubernatorial wannabes Kathleen Brown and John Garamendi expected was company.

illustration by Christopher

The two constitutional officers had been circling each other warily for the better part of a year, anticipating a head-to-head confrontation that would last until this June's primary. Then, unexpectedly, their two-way scuffle became a three-ring circus when state Senator Tom Hayden entered the fray last month. Hayden's entry was one of the best-kept political secrets in decades. Even his Los Angeles legislative office didn't know that he was about to hold a press conference to announce his candidacy — on the day of the announcement. At first blush, Hayden's entry would seem to hurt Garamendi, who has promised to focus on "issues" but may lose the ability to define those issues. Meanwhile, Hayden's fund-raising proficiency in the entertainment community cuts into a base that Brown has been mining with a steam shovel. At least one gubernatorial candidate probably greeted the Hayden news with hand-rubbing glee, however — Pete Wilson. Who can forget Hayden's last statewide race, for the U.S. Senate against incumbent Democrat John Tunney back in 1976? Although he lost, Hayden ran a slash-and-burn campaign that seriously weakened Tunney, who then lost to Republican S.I. Hayakawa.

Erp. The fax machine has been busy of late, spitting out notes to remind us that Democratic Congressman Dan Hamburg of Ukiah just appeared in the media yet again. Not long ago, we were notified that Hamburg would be on the "MacNeil-Leher News Hour" on PBS. This followed closely a message that Hamburg's name had appeared on page 49 of *E* magazine. Hamburg even faxxed us the letter from *E*, citing his appearance. Yeah, we bet his name's in the phone book, too.

Trends. The Bureau of the Census reports that California's growth rate of 1 percent has dropped below the national average (1.1 percent) for the first time in recent memory. During the 1980s, the state's growth rate was twice the national average.

Poll watch. Michael Huffington's wallet probably suffered as a result of a recent *Field Poll* on the pending race for U.S. Senate. The poll showed that more voters were inclined to support fellow Republican Kate Squires than Huffington, even though the Santa Barbara congressman had a greater name identification. Huffington will change that equation, of course, by pumping a quadrillion

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dollars into the campaign. For the record, Huffington's name ID was 14 percent; Squires, 9 percent. Five percent said they were inclined to vote for Huffington, compared with 7 percent for Squires. Former GOP Congressman Bill Dannemeyer's name also was included in the poll; 21 percent knew who he was and 11 percent said they'd vote for him. In the same poll, but on a different planet, was incumbent Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein — 87 percent recognized her name and 55 percent were inclined to vote for her. To catch her, Huffington might actually have to spend more than loose change.

Charity begins at home. It's not surprising that two of the big-buck donors to the "Three Strikes and You're Out" initiative are the CCPOA — the prison guards' union — and the National Rifle Association. The CCPOA has given $50,000 to date; the NRA another $40,000. CCPOA, of course, is one of the big beneficiaries of "Three Strikes." After all, the measure is a prison-guards-full-employment act: The more people you lock up, and for longer sentences, the more guards must be hired. The NRA has long pushed for stricter sentencing as an alternative to gun control, and never mind that most violent crimes in this country are committed with guns.

The other kids. In his push for a crackdown on violent crime, Governor Pete Wilson used his State of the State address to point out that about 500 kids were murdered in California in 1992. He then invoked the name of Petaluma youngster Polly Klaas as a victim of a particularly heinous crime. Wilson is not alone in turning the Klaas tragedy into a political stumping ground. Every California politician running for something other than dog catcher has been humming the same tune. Even President Bill Clinton mentioned her name in his State of the Union address. Turns out, however, that only 57 of those 500 murdered children, or 12 percent, were like Klaas — killed by a stranger. The rest were either done in by a parent or relative or died in some gang-related activity. Meanwhile, in their anguish over slain children, Wilson and other politicians ignore another statistic. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, 541 children died in 1990 in firearm accidents. Given that 12.5 percent of the nation's population lives in California, it could be said that 67 of those kids died here — many at the business end of a handgun. They, too, leave behind grieving families. But trying to control the proliferation of handguns takes a lot more political guts than trying to lock up criminals, so nobody much talks about these other kids.

"The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man."
— Edmund Burke

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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March 24	**Lawmaking in California (Santa Ana)**
March 25	**Advocacy and Committee Protocol (Santa Ana)**

April Programs

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April 8	**Election Issues**
April 21	**Demystifying the Legislative Process**
April 22	**Surviving Rules and Regulations**
April 29	**Advanced Advocacy Workshop**

May Programs

May 4	**Bill Analysis Workshop**
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Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

The better angels of our nature

I was sitting in a Sacramento burger joint on the afternoon of January 17th, roughly 12 hours after California's largest city had suffered its latest calamity — a magnitude 6.8 earthquake centered in the San Fernando Valley. As I munched away on a semi-liquid stack of cholesterol, I took note of a self-promotional banner the eatery had made, comparing itself favorably to some better-known Los Angeles burger haunts. "Forget LA," the banner urged.

As someone who once lived in a condominium within spitting distance of the epicenter, it was not an especially good moment to ask me to "forget LA." Although it was intended light-heartedly, the slogan rubbed raw a sore point for many displaced Angelenos: the blind, irrational antagonism carried by many of our California "brethren" toward anyone living south of Santa Barbara and north of San Diego.

Signs of this sniveling are everywhere. Whenever a northern columnist has a few inches to fill and nothing else to write, he or she will break out the stereotypes and cluck self-righteously about LA's "disaster of the month," or that old chestnut about how the southland is "stealing our water." Fans of the San Francisco Giants care less about where their team winds up in the standings than they do about finishing ahead of the hated Dodgers. Even the coverage of the earthquake was not immune, as northern news accounts talked of "a city where glamour and money are king." The mewling Eastern media, which delights in chronicling the "tarnished Golden State," scarcely needs to aim its slings and arrows — Californians are painting the targets.

The purest form of this feckless mind-set is, of course, the movement to split California into two, or three, or however many separate states. Whatever he might say about its benefits to Southern Californians, Oak Run Assemblyman Stan Statham's brainchild merely panders to that great mass of narrow Flat Earthers convinced that the only thing separating them from Nirvana is an "LA-ectomy." I won't bore you with my coffee-klatch psychology about motivations, but I will tell you what I think of this attitude.

It's stupid.

Nobody — myself included — would argue that Southern California is what it was 40, or even 20 years ago. There are few who grieve more for LA's loss of innocence than those who grew up at a time when its problems were easier to paper over. On the other hand, most of the agonies that beat down Angelenos daily have an evil twin elsewhere in the state. Violent crime? LA's got it, but wasn't Polly Klaas from Petaluma? The gridlock was nightmarish in Los Angeles even before the quake, but have you checked the Bay Bridge at rush hour? Sure, the southland crackles with racial and ethnic tension, but wasn't it Sacramento that recently earned a national reputation as "Hate Crime City?" Smog? Been to El Cajon lately? And earthquakes ... well, you get the idea.

The point of this recitation is not to pick at everybody's scabs. Rather it is designed to show that the issues and maladies we have in common as Californians are at least as important as those that divide us. Los Angeles no more has the patent on crime, racism, urban sprawl or hypocrisy than Stockton has the patent on schoolyard massacres. When the Eastern columnists huff and puff about California's ills, they're not distinguishing north from south — they gleefully and indiscriminately trash the lot of us. Rather than joining the chorus of boos, Californians should be celebrating a city that continues to fight doggedly for its soul despite having been hit with more than its fair share of bad luck.

Is it dewy sentimentalism to believe that we can indeed live up to the dream that brought us here? Perhaps, but then isn't that what California is all about? Our common history is populated with explorers and fortune-seekers, adventurers and profiteers — all of whom arrived expecting to find El Dorado ... or build it. The people of Los Angeles showed themselves to be worthy descendants of that legacy in their stolid determination not to be defeated by a mere earthquake.

It's a determination of which *all* Californians should be proud.

—Steve Scott

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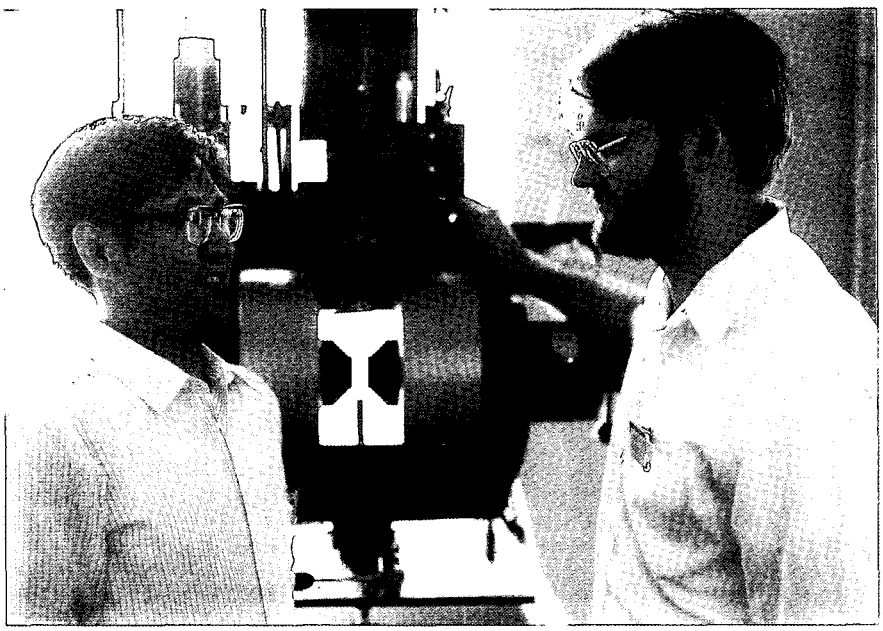
Making Science Together



HIVIPS aims to promote cooperation and scientific development by bringing together scientists from different backgrounds and countries.

Providing Joint Research Opportunities in Japan

As an electronics engineer, Dr. Gregory Uvieghara has long been intrigued by Japan's success in his chosen field. Small wonder that when the opportunity arose, he jumped at a chance to work as a guest researcher at Hitachi's Central Research Laboratory (CRL) near Tokyo. "The invitation opened the door of a major Japanese laboratory to me. It gave me a unique chance to observe Japanese research methods first-hand," the AT&T Bell Labs researcher says. He spent over a year in Japan studying a new type of semiconductor device.

Opening doors is what the Hitachi Research Visit Programs (HIVIPS) are all about. The programs bring scientists from all over the world together to work on key problems in basic and applied research; allowing creative collaboration that would not be possible otherwise. More than 200 scientists from all over the world have participated in the programs since their inception in 1985.

For Felicia Heiler, HIVIPS allowed her to work side-by-side with Japan's leading expert in submicron semiconductor device physics, whom she had met while studying for her master's degree in electrical engineering at Santa Clara University. The collaboration turned out to be very fruitful. "I ended up with a master's thesis and two publications," Heiler says. She now works as a device engineer for Advanced Micro Devices.

For Dr. Thomas Hildebrandt, HIVIPS gave him a chance to work closely with Japanese experts in handwritten character recognition systems."The sharing of ideas and the facilities certainly were conducive to my research," the Lehigh University computer science professor says. "I made a lot more progress than I would have otherwise."

For many participants, lasting friendships may be HIVIPS' most important benefit. "Many of my best friends are people I met at CRL," Heiler says. "In fact, one of them, my Hitachi advisor, came all the way from Japan to attend my wedding."

Dr. Thomas Hildebrandt participated in HIVIPS in 1993.

We at Hitachi are proud to sponsor HIVIPS. We believe that this scientific exchange not only provides research rewards, but also promotes mutual understanding in the scientific community. For more information, please write to: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

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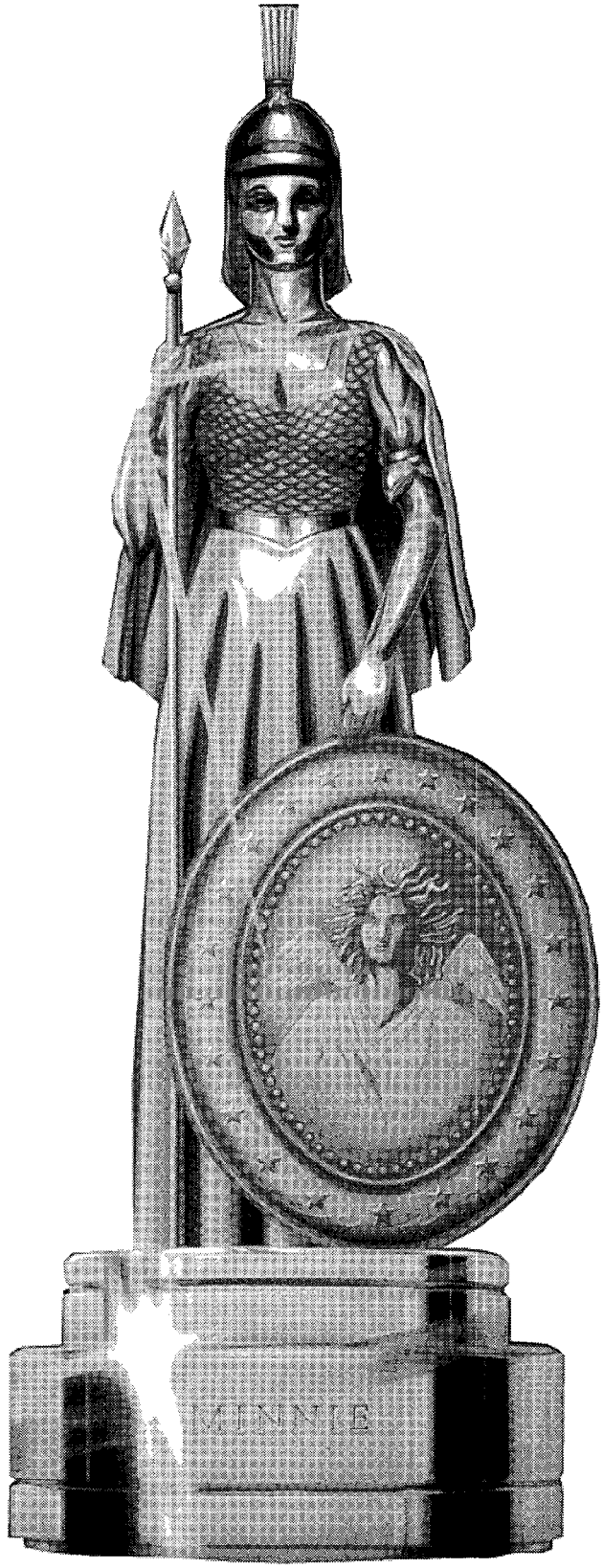

THE MINNIES:

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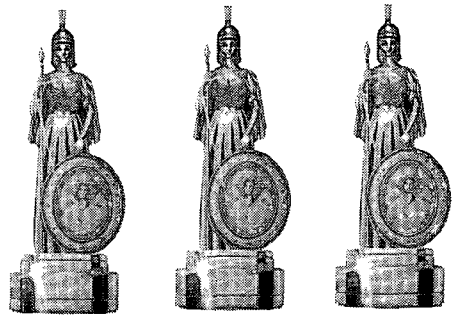
CALIFORNIA JOURNAL'S THIRD BIENNIAL SURVEY SPOTLIGHTS THE LEGISLATURE'S BEST

BY RICHARD ZEIGER



Two years ago, one of the winners of *California Journal's* biennial survey of state legislators was quoted elsewhere as saying that he didn't think too much of being ranked at the top. The survey, he said, didn't really mean all that much. But when the next election rolled around, this same lawmaker reprinted the rankings, complete with a pilfered copy of the cover (the *Journal* does not give candidates permission to reprint entire articles for campaign materials).

And two years ago, the head of one legislative caucus suggested that his members and their staff boycott the survey. This time around, his successor was reported to have circulated a memo trying to ensure that everyone responded. Indeed, we received more than one call asking for replacement surveys from legislators who had somehow managed to "misplace" their survey form, or who said they failed to receive one (all requests for additional surveys were denied).

For better or worse, the rankings have become an institution. In fact, we decided to name them. From now on, *California Journal's* rankings will be known as the "Minnies," after Minerva — the Roman goddess of wisdom who graces the state seal. Over the years, we've portrayed Minerva in cartoons and drawings to symbolize the state of California, in the same way Uncle Sam often represents the United States. In the past, "Aunt Minnie" has been dressed in armor or in rags, in silky satin or in sports togs. But this month, we wrapped her in elegant gold to symbolize an award for the Legislature's best.

Those who rank among the best often trumpet the results. Those who finish near the bottom hunker down and try to avoid the blow dealt out by opponents.

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We believe the rankings give a reasonable snapshot of the legislators — particularly since there are few other ways to measure their performance.

Still, as we have warned in the past, the results should be read with some caution.

First, it is not clear just what qualities make a good legislator. They are required to perform an extremely complex array of tasks, from dealing with a constituent frustrated with the state's bureaucracy to analyzing the complex economics of a tax increase. That some should be better at some of these roles should not be surprising.

Second, those who are asked to participate see only one part of the lawmaker's activities — the part he or she performs while in the state Capitol. Respondents are mostly ignorant of the activities that take place in a legislator's district.

Third, those who work around the Capitol have their own way to judge what's important, and that may or may not be what voters want and need. For example, the Capitol community has a prejudice in favor of taking action. Those legislators who introduce bills and get them passed are valued more highly than those who oppose. But it may be argued, as do

INTEGRITY — ASSEMBLY

1. ISENBERG	7.71
2. CAMPBELL	7.50
3. VASCONCELLOS	7.48
4. O'CONNELL	7.47
5. JONES	7.37
6. ALPERT	7.29
7. TAKASUGI	7.11
8. HANNIGAN	7.10
9. FRAZEE	7.07
10. AGUIAR	7.04
11. UMBERG	7.03
12. FRIEDMAN, T.	7.01
13. SHER	7.00
14. RICHTER	6.89
15. CALDERA	6.85
17. RAINEY	6.79
18. BATES	6.75
19. MARGOLIN	6.72
20. BRULTE	6.64
21. FRIEDMAN, B.	6.62
22. BOWEN	6.58
23. GOLDSMITH	6.55
24. STATHAM	6.54
25. SOLIS	6.50
26. ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.49
27. BROWN, V.	6.47
28. SPEIER	6.39
29. EASTIN	6.35
30. BORNSTEIN	6.34
31. ANDAL	6.33
32. KARNETTE	6.32
33. HARVEY	6.31
34. WEGGELAND	6.26
35. SEASTRAND	6.24
36. WOODRUFF	6.16
37. LEE	6.14
38. JOHNSON	6.07
39. CONROY	6.05
40. BOWLER	6.04
41. ESCUTIA	6.00
42. BOLAND	5.98
43. BUSTAMANTE	5.91
44. MORROW	5.83
45. BURTON	5.82
46. HAUSER	5.81
47. HOGE	5.80
47. SNYDER	5.80
49. QUACKENBUSH	5.74
50. NAPOLITANO	5.73
51. CANNELLA	5.56
52. MCDONALD	5.55
53. HONEYCUTT	5.51
54. POLANCO	5.49
54. PRINGLE	5.49
56. HAYNES	5.46
57. GOTCH	5.43
58. KNIGHT	5.37
59. CONNOLLY	5.31
59. ALLEN	5.31
61. FERGUSON	5.29
62. MOORE	5.22
63. CORTESE	5.14
64. KATZ	5.07
65. KNOWLES	5.06
66. MOUNTJOY	5.04
67. BACA	5.01
68. KLEHS	4.89
69. EPPLE	4.81
70. BRONSHVAG	4.71
71. PEACE	4.66
72. COSTA	4.46
73. AREIAS	4.45
74. BROWN, W.	4.40
75. HORCHER	4.30
76. NOLAN	4.29
77. MARTINEZ	4.21
78. TUCKER	4.20
79. MURRAY	3.64

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990:LLOYD CONNELLY
1992:LLOYD CONNELLY

INTEGRITY — SENATE

1. HART	7.96
2. JOHNSTON	7.93
3. BERGESON	7.68
4. PETRIS	7.45
5. KILLEA	7.26
6. RUSSELL	7.15
7. PRESLEY	6.85
8. LEONARD	6.83
9. KOPP	6.78
10. MADDY	6.73
11. CRAVEN	6.70
12. ROBERTI	6.50
13. BEVERLY	6.46
14. ALQUIST	6.36
15. LESLIE	6.06
16. KELLEY	6.00
17. GREENE	5.91
18. ROSENTHAL	5.86
19. HAYDEN	5.77
20. MCCORQUODALE	5.70
21. ROGERS	5.64
22. DILLS	5.60
23. THOMPSON	5.59
24. TORRES	5.38
25. HUGHES	5.33
26. AYALA	5.17
27. WYMAN	5.16
28. WRIGHT	5.11
29. MARKS	5.01
30. WATSON	4.93
31. LEWIS	4.83
32. HURTT	4.80
33. LOCKYER	4.59
34. HILL	4.35
35. CALDERON	4.18
36. MELLO	3.88
37. BOATWRIGHT	3.68

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: GARY HART
1992: GARY HART

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some conservatives, that the public benefits best when government fails to act; they believe that, at times, no action at all is better than passing new laws.

Finally, there is only one real test that a legislator must pass, and that is the test at the ballot box. Each of those ranked here has passed at least once.

Readers should remembers that this is a survey; it is journalism, not a public-opinion poll. Only a select group of people were asked to respond. That group included the Sacramento press corps contingent that covers the Capitol, lobbyists, legislative staff, executive branch staff that deals with legislators, and legislators themselves.

The survey takes a substantial commitment to complete; nonetheless, nearly 296 were returned, which represents nearly 17 percent of the 1779 that were distributed. This is an improvement of about 3 percent over last year. Interestingly, legislators themselves were the most faithful at responding, with 52 troubling to fill out the form, or 43 percent of all lawmakers. Their staff was the next most responsive, with 32 percent returning the forms. The executive staff had the least interest; only 7 percent bothered to fill out the forms.

INTELLIGENCE — ASSEMBLY

1. BROWN, W.	9.51	42. RAINEY	5.96
2. ISENBERG	9.06	43. MOORE	5.95
3. VASCONCELLOS	8.17	44. PRINGLE	5.93
4. SHER	8.07	45. LEE	5.79
5. BRULTE	7.75	46. QUACKENBUSH	5.75
6. FRIEDMAN, T.	7.64	46. ESCUTIA	5.75
7. HANNIGAN	7.63	48. FRAZEE	5.74
7. PEACE	7.63	49. HOGE	5.72
9. O'CONNELL	7.59	50. HARVEY	5.64
9. MARGOLIN	7.59	51. CONNOLLY	5.63
11. SPEIER	7.58	52. MORROW	5.54
12. BURTON	7.51	53. MCDONALD	5.45
13. UMBERG	7.42	54. BUSTAMANTE	5.43
13. KATZ	7.42	55. HAYNES	5.42
15. CALDERA	7.40	56. TUCKER	5.38
16. JOHNSON	7.32	57. CANNELLA	5.37
17. BOWEN	7.29	58. AREIAS	5.34
18. EASTIN	7.26	59. KNOWLES	5.27
19. ANDAL	7.15	60. BOWLER	5.26
20. CAMPBELL	7.07	61. HORCHER	5.09
21. NOLAN	7.04	62. EPPLE	5.05
22. GOLDSMITH	6.94	63. CORTESE	4.96
23. JONES	6.82	64. BACA	4.92
24. BROWN, V.	6.81	65. KARNETTE	4.85
25. BORNSTEIN	6.72	66. SNYDER	4.74
26. ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.63	67. SEASTRAND	4.73
27. COSTA	6.61	68. MOUNTJOY	4.66
28. ALPERT	6.56	69. HONEYCUTT	4.63
29. AGUIAR	6.53	70. NAPOLITANO	4.58
30. BATES	6.45	71. ALLEN	4.53
31. KLEHS	6.41	72. CONROY	4.47
32. STATHAM	6.28	73. MARTINEZ	4.35
33. FRIEDMAN, B.	6.24	74. KNIGHT	4.31
34. WOODRUFF	6.23	75. BOLAND	4.19
35. RICHTER	6.17	76. BRONSHVAG	4.09
36. POLANCO	6.09	77. FERGUSON	3.86
37. GOTCH	6.07	78. MURRAY	3.70
38. WEGGELAND	6.05		
39. SOLIS	6.02		
40. HAUSER	5.97		
40. TAKASUGI	5.97		

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: WILLIE BROWN JR.
1992: WILLIE BROWN JR.

INTELLIGENCE — SENATE

1. KOPP	8.57
2. JOHNSTON	8.10
3. HART	8.06
4. ROBERTI	8.05
5. MADDY	7.91
6. LOCKYER	7.88
7. BERGESON	7.54
8. PETRIS	7.37
9. HILL	7.33
10. TORRES	7.32
11. LEONARD	7.16
12. PRESLEY	7.10
13. BOATWRIGHT	6.94
13. HAYDEN	6.94
15. THOMPSON	6.68
16. GREENE	6.53
17. BEVERLY	6.45
18. KILLEA	6.41
19. ALQUIST	6.27
20. DILLS	6.03
21. RUSSELL	6.01
22. CALDERON	5.97
23. CRAVEN	5.92
23. HURTT	5.92
25. MCCORQUODALE	5.74
26. LESLIE	5.59
27. ROSENTHAL	5.51
28. LEWIS	5.46
29. KELLEY	5.14
30. WATSON	5.11
31. MELLO	4.96
32. WYMAN	4.67
32. HUGHES	4.67
34. ROGERS	4.63
35. WRIGHT	4.56
35. MARKS	4.56
37. AYALA	4.38

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: QUENTIN KOPP
1992: QUENTIN KOPP

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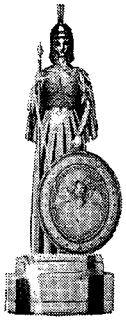

We have no way of knowing if those who chose to complete the survey are a fair representation of everyone who received one, nor, if it turns out they are biased, in what way that bias reflects the results. But there are several checks that lead us to believe the results reliably reflect the opinion of the Capitol community. For one thing, the results, when broken down into separate groups, are much alike. For instance, if a lawmaker ranked near the top among fellow legislators, that person also tended to rank near the top among staff, lobbyists, administration officials and the press.

Perhaps more important, the results follow common sense. While it's possible to disagree on whether a senator who finished 16th in intelligence really is smarter than the senator who finished 15th, we could find no instances where we felt legislators in the bottom 10 percent really belonged in the top 10 percent.

The survey has also drawn some criticism from Republicans, who feel, as the minority party, that they are disadvantaged when it comes to completing the survey. After all, there are fewer of them and they have smaller staffs. This criticism has been particularly strong from Assembly Republicans, who

EFFECTIVENESS — ASSEMBLY

1. BROWN, W.	9.14	42. TUCKER	5.13
2. ISENBERG	8.20	43. AGUIAR	5.06
3. BRULTE	7.63	44. CANNELLA	5.03
4. O'CONNELL	7.34	45. BATES	5.02
5. HANNIGAN	7.21	46. HARVEY	5.00
6. SPEIER	7.16	47. RAINEY	4.94
7. VASCONCELLOS	7.05	48. PRINGLE	4.85
8. KATZ	6.75	48. WEGGELAND	4.85
9. EASTIN	6.67	50. ESCUTIA	4.79
10. COSTA	6.60	50. CORTESE	4.79
11. SHER	6.50	52. MCDONALD	4.75
12. BURTON	6.48	53. TAKASUGI	4.67
13. UMBERG	6.39	54. BUSTMANTE	4.65
14. PEACE	6.38	55. EPPLE	4.63
15. POLANCO	6.36	55. FRAZEE	4.63
15. MARGOLIN	6.36	57. HOGE	4.57
17. CAMPBELL	6.21	58. CONNOLLY	4.50
18. ALPERT	6.17	59. KARNETTE	4.46
19. BROWN, V.	6.15	60. BACA	4.43
20. FRIEDMAN, T.	6.11	61. SNYDER	4.36
21. ARCHIE-HUDSON	5.97	62. NAPOLITANO	4.35
22. JONES	5.86	63. MORROW	4.34
23. FRIEDMAN, B.	5.85	64. ALLEN	4.28
24. KLEHS	5.83	65. SEASTRAND	4.13
25. JOHNSON	5.74	66. CONROY	4.11
26. CALDERA	5.70	67. BOWLER	4.10
26. MOORE	5.70	68. HORCHER	4.09
28. BOWEN	5.67	69. HAYNES	4.04
29. NOLAN	5.64	70. KNOWLES	4.01
30. STATHAM	5.59	71. BOLAND	3.96
31. HAUSER	5.51	72. HONEYCUTT	3.83
32. BORNSTEIN	5.45	73. MOUNTJOY	3.81
33. AREIAS	5.36	74. MARTINEZ	3.47
34. RICHTER	5.31	75. KNIGHT	3.46
35. GOLDSMITH	5.29	76. BRONSHVAG	3.40
35. LEE	5.29	77. MURRAY	3.22
37. QUACKENBUSH	5.27	78. FERGUSON	3.04
38. GOTCH	5.26		
39. SOLIS	5.24		
40. WOODRUFF	5.15		
41. ANDAL	5.14		

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: WILLIE BROWN JR.
1992: WILLIE BROWN JR.

EFFECTIVENESS — SENATE

1. ROBERTI	7.82
2. MADDY	7.63
3. JOHNSTON	7.54
4. PRESLEY	7.35
5. LOCKYER	7.26
6. HART	7.12
7. BERGESON	7.08
8. KOPP	6.87
9. TORRES	6.30
10. ALQUIST	6.28
11. THOMPSON	6.18
12. BOATWRIGHT	6.11
13. LEONARD	6.10
14. HILL	6.06
15. PETRIS	6.01
16. KILLEA	5.97
17. BEVERLY	5.82
18. DILLS	5.71
19. GREENE	5.54
20. MCCORQUODALE	5.44
21. RUSSELL	5.42
22. MELLO	5.35
23. CALDERON	5.26
24. LESLIE	5.19
25. CRAVEN	5.05
26. WATSON	4.83
27. AYALA	4.78
28. ROSENTHAL	4.77
29. HURTT	4.72
30. KELLEY	4.44
31. HUGHES	4.42
32. WRIGHT	4.33
33. ROGERS	4.04
34. LEWIS	3.87
35. MARKS	3.71
36. HAYDEN	3.60
37. WYMAN	3.53

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: DAVID ROBERTI
1992: DAVID ROBERTI

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have fared poorly in the surveys. This year, for example, with the exception of Minority Leader Jim Brulte, the highest-ranked Assembly Republican in the "overall" category finished 20th. The same does not hold true for the Senate, where Republicans did somewhat better, placing two of their number among the top five (and both ahead of then-President pro Tempore David Roberti). Why would the same group of respondents be somehow prejudiced against Republicans in the Assembly, but not those in the Senate?

We believe the reasons for this have to do with the way things operate in the Assembly and perhaps something about the Assembly Republican caucus itself, rather than with any flaw in the survey. The Assembly tends to be more partisan, thus closing off avenues for Assembly Republicans to shine.

The categories used in this year's survey were the same as two years ago: intelligence, integrity, effectiveness, energy, problem-solving ability and potential. Members were ranked one to 10, with 10 being the best score. For the overall rankings, potential was not counted and the other factors were ranked equally. One can differ about the weight that should be given to each category. Indeed, some

ENERGY — ASSEMBLY

1. BROWN, W.	8.86	42. CONNOLLY	5.76
2. ISENBERG	8.15	43. MCDONALD	5.73
3. SPEIER	7.75	44. AREIAS	5.72
4. PEACE	7.70	45. HOGE	5.70
5. EASTIN	7.67	46. JOHNSON	5.67
6. BRULTE	7.47	47. MOORE	5.66
7. VASCONCELLOS	7.38	47. MOUNTJOY	5.66
8. O'CONNELL	7.36	49. RAINEY	5.65
9. BOWEN	7.23	50. KARNETTE	5.64
10. KATZ	7.10	51. BOWLER	5.59
11. ANDAL	7.07	52. BATES	5.56
12. FRIEDMAN, T.	7.03	53. QUACKENBUSH	5.55
13. BROWN, V.	6.98	54. HAYNES	5.54
14. ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.88	55. GOTCH	5.52
15. CAMPBELL	6.84	56. HAUSER	5.50
16. UMBERG	6.83	57. BUSTAMANTE	5.44
17. POLANCO	6.80	58. CANNELLA	5.40
18. ALPERT	6.69	59. NAPOLITANO	5.25
19. GOLDSMITH	6.61	60. TAKASUGI	5.22
20. MARGOLIN	6.55	61. MORROW	5.18
21. RICHTER	6.53	62. CONROY	5.11
22. FRIEDMAN, B.	6.51	63. BACA	5.09
23. CALDERA	6.47	64. MARTINEZ	5.03
24. HANNIGAN	6.42	65. HONEYCUTT	4.98
25. BURTON	6.41	66. TUCKER	4.95
26. AGUIAR	6.35	67. ALLEN	4.90
27. SHER	6.35	68. SEASTRAND	4.89
28. BORNSTEIN	6.34	69. SNYDER	4.85
29. NOLAN	6.28	70. BRONSHVAG	4.75
30. STATHAM	6.17	71. BOLAND	4.72
31. SOLIS	6.15	72. HORCHER	4.65
32. PRINGLE	6.09	73. EPPLE	4.52
33. KLEHS	6.02	74. FERGUSON	4.50
34. COSTA	6.01	75. FRAZEE	4.49
35. JONES	6.00	76. CORTESE	4.45
36. LEE	5.95	77. KNIGHT	3.99
37. ESCUTIA	5.91	78. MURRAY	3.27
38. KNOWLES	5.90		
39. HARVEY	5.80		
40. WEGGELAND	5.79		
41. WOODRUFF	5.76		

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: WILLIE BROWN JR.
1992: WILLIE BROWN JR.

ENERGY — SENATE

1. KOPP	7.85
2. JOHNSTON	7.60
3. LOCKYER	7.40
4. BERGESON	7.15
5. TORRES	7.11
6. THOMPSON	7.04
7. HART	6.96
8. ROBERTI	6.75
9. LEONARD	6.63
9. MADDY	6.63
11. HILL	6.58
12. HAYDEN	6.42
12. PRESLEY	6.42
14. HURTT	6.28
15. KILLEA	6.23
16. BOATWRIGHT	6.16
17. LESLIE	6.07
18. RUSSELL	5.92
19. PETRIS	5.86
20. MCCORQUODALE	5.75
21. CALDERON	5.68
22. WATSON	5.56
23. GREENE	5.55
24. WRIGHT	5.48
25. WYMAN	5.16
26. BEVERLY	5.06
27. DILLS	4.95
28. ROGERS	4.84
29. ROSENTHAL	4.76
30. KELLEY	4.74
31. HUGHES	4.55
32. MELLO	4.51
33. ALQUIST	4.43
34. LEWIS	4.34
35. AYALA	4.14
36. CRAVEN	3.95
37. MARKS	3.16

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: QUENTIN KOPP
1992: QUENTIN KOPP

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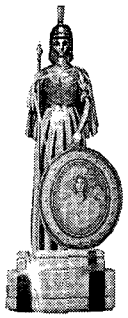

observers argue that "effectiveness" is the only attribute that really matters.

The results this year look remarkably like those of two years ago. This is due, in large measure, to the stability of leadership in both houses during that period. In the Senate, Democrat Pat Johnston of Stockton had the highest overall ranking and also placed first in problem-solving and potential. In the Assembly, Sacramento Democrat Phil Isenberg came out first overall, and also placed first in integrity, problem-solving and potential. The other categories in the Assembly — intelligence, effectiveness and energy — were all carried by Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

Indeed, Brown would have easily won the overall honors had it not been for his 73rd-place finish in "integrity." Brown's poor showing in this category raises a host of questions. Does the assessment reflect on the speaker's life outside the Legislature, where he has been the subject of a number of stories questioning his law practice? Does the person who will lead the house have to be a deal-maker who, somehow, is less than honest in order to get things done? And if colleagues view him that way, why do they want him as their leader?

PROBLEM-SOLVING — ASSEMBLY

1. ISENBERG	8.08	41. WEGGELAND	4.98
2. BROWN,W.	8.00	43. HARVEY	4.92
3. BRULTE	7.36	43. RAINEY	4.92
4. VASCONCELLOS	7.01	45. CANNELLA	4.91
5. O'CONNELL	6.88	46. FRAZEE	4.90
6. HANNIGAN	6.78	47. AREIAS	4.89
7. SPEIER	6.54	48. TAKASUGI	4.83
8. SHER	6.37	49. PRINGLE	4.82
9. UMBERG	6.34	50. BUSTAMANTE	4.81
10. CAMPBELL	6.27	51. ANDAL	4.80
11. KATZ	6.23	52. ESCUTIA	4.73
11. EASTIN	6.23	53. TUCKER	4.66
13. MARGOLIN	6.19	54. MCDONALD	4.59
14. PEACE	6.17	55. CORTESE	4.57
15. JONES	6.04	56. KARNETTE	4.54
16. COSTA	6.01	57. HOGE	4.51
17. BROWN, V.	5.98	58. CONNOLLY	4.50
18. ALPERT	5.96	59. EPPLE	4.41
19. FRIEDMAN, T.	5.91	59. MORROW	4.41
20. CALDERA	5.83	61. BACA	4.32
21. POLANCO	5.82	62. SNYDER	4.27
22. BURTON	5.73	62. NAPOLITANO	4.27
23. BOWEN	5.63	64. ALLEN	4.13
24. NOLAN	5.61	65. CONROY	4.10
24. GOLDSMITH	5.61	66. BOWLER	4.10
26. ARCHIE-HUDSON	5.60	67. SEASTRAND	4.08
27. FRIEDMAN, B.	5.54	67. HORCHER	4.08
28. AGUIAR	5.52	69. HAYNES	4.06
29. RICHTER	5.51	70. HONEYCUTT	3.96
30. JOHNSON	5.48	71. BOLAND	3.87
31. KLEHS	5.44	72. KNOWLES	3.69
31. HAUSER	5.44	73. KNIGHT	3.55
33. STATHAM	5.43	74. MOUNTJOY	3.50
34. BORNSTEIN	5.41	75. MARTINEZ	3.21
35. MOORE	5.38	75. BRONSHVAG	3.21
36. GOTCH	5.29	77. MURRAY	3.10
36. SOLIS	5.29	78. FERGUSON	2.92
38. QUACKENBUSH	5.24		
39. WOODRUFF	5.22		
40. BATES	5.07		
41. LEE	4.98		

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: NOT A CATEGORY
1992: PHIL ISENBERG

PROBLEM-SOLVING — SENATE

1. JOHNSTON	7.60
2. MADDY	7.40
3. ROBERTI	7.13
4. HART	7.11
5. BERGESON	7.07
6. PRESLEY	6.80
7. KOPP	6.67
8. LOCKYER	6.57
9. HILL	6.52
10. KILLEA	5.97
11. TORRES	5.94
11. THOMPSON	5.94
13. LEONARD	5.92
14. PETRIS	5.75
15. ALQUIST	5.62
16. BEVERLY	5.48
17. BOATWRIGHT	5.43
18. RUSSELL	5.42
19. MCCORQUODALE	5.32
20. GREENE	5.21
21. LESLIE	5.10
22. CALDERON	4.96
23. DILLS	4.91
24. CRAVEN	4.88
25. ROSENTHAL	4.53
26. WATSON	4.50
27. AYALA	4.47
28. KELLEY	4.43
29. MELLO	4.40
30. HUGHES	4.21
31. WRIGHT	4.20
32. HAYDEN	3.99
33. ROGERS	3.85
34. HURTT	3.83
35. LEWIS	3.71
36. WYMAN	3.44
37. MARKS	3.42

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: NOT A CATEGORY
1992: KEN MADDY

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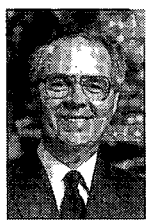
Two years ago, Isenberg, long viewed as one of Brown's top lieutenants, placed ninth in integrity. This time — after leading independent efforts in the past two years to find a budget solution — he moved to the top of the integrity heap. Last year's winner in that category, Democrat Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, left the Assembly.

The large freshman Assembly class also did surprisingly well. Normally, first-termers, with few chances to distinguish themselves, languish toward the middle or bottom of the pack. But this year, three first-term Democrats — Debra Bowen, Valerie Brown and Louis Caldera — finished 17th, 18th, and 19th in the overall rankings. Those three were also ranked in the top 10 for potential. Bowen placed in the top 10 for intelligence and Republican Nao Takasugi finished 7th in integrity.

The survey was distributed in September, after the Legislature had adjourned for the year. Two Assembly seats were not ranked. Barbara Alby, a Sacramento Republican, was left off because she had been in office only a short period of time; and Bruce McPherson, a Republican from Santa Cruz, had not yet been elected. Senator Steve Peace of

POTENTIAL — ASSEMBLY



1. ISENBERG	7.71	42. MOORE	5.19
2. BRULTE	7.55	43. JOHNSON	5.15
3. O'CONNELL	7.29	44. WOODRUFF	5.08
4. SPEIER	7.06	45. BUSTAMANTE	5.06
5. EASTIN	6.98	46. MCDONALD	5.01
6. BROWN, W.	6.89	47. HAUSER	4.87
7. BROWN, V.	6.85	47. TAKASUGI	4.87
8. UMBERG	6.61	49. HOGE	4.86
9. CALDERA	6.54	50. HARVEY	4.83
10. PEACE	6.31	51. CANNELLA	4.79
11. BOWEN	6.27	52. TUCKER	4.76
12. POLANCO	6.23	52. HAYNES	4.76
13. AGUIAR	6.20	54. MORROW	4.74
14. HANNIGAN	6.19	55. BOWLER	4.55
15. ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.10	56. CONNOLLY	4.49
16. ALPERT	6.05	57. NAPOLITANO	4.44
17. KATZ	6.03	58. BATES	4.43
18. MARGOLIN	5.98	58. BACA	4.43
18. GOLDSMITH	5.98	60. KARNETTE	4.42
20. COSTA	5.84	61. SEASTRAND	4.33
21. FRIEDMAN, T.	5.81	62. KNOWLES	4.29
21. BORNSTEIN	5.81	63. SNYDER	4.22
21. ANDAL	5.81	64. EPPLE	4.13
24. STATHAM	5.76	65. HONEYCUTT	4.12
25. FRIEDMAN, B.	5.74	66. CONROY	3.98
26. JONES	5.73	67. CORTESE	3.95
27. CAMPBELL	5.70	68. FRAZEE	3.93
28. SOLIS	5.66	69. NOLAN	3.91
29. SHER	5.57	70. HORCHER	3.89
30. KLEHS	5.54	71. MARTINEZ	3.88
31. VASCONCELLOS	5.49	72. ALLEN	3.81
31. QUACKENBUSH	5.49	73. MOUNTJOY	3.73
33. RICHTER	5.46	74. BOLAND	3.56
34. WEGGELAND	5.41	75. KNIGHT	3.44
34. RAINEY	5.41	76. BRONSHVAG	3.19
36. BURTON	5.37	77. FERGUSON	3.10
37. AREIAS	5.35	78. MURRAY	2.95
37. ESCUTIA	5.35		
39. GOTCH	5.30		
40. PRINGLE	5.26		
41. LEE	5.24		

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: BRUCE BRONZAN
1992: PHIL ISENBERG

POTENTIAL — SENATE

1. JOHNSTON	7.63
2. LOCKYER	7.46
3. BERGESON	6.63
4. KOPP	6.35
5. MADDY	6.24
6. TORRES	6.09
7. THOMPSON	6.07
8. LEONARD	6.05
9. ROBERTI	5.91
10. HART	5.89
11. PRESLEY	5.86
11. HURTT	5.86
13. LESLIE	5.20
14. KILLEA	5.15
15. CALDERON	4.83
16. RUSSELL	4.70
17. BOATWRIGHT	4.69
18. PETRIS	4.67
19. HILL	4.50
20. BEVERLY	4.45
20. MCCORQUODALE	4.45
22. WATSON	4.42
23. KELLEY	4.25
24. WRIGHT	3.98
24. HAYDEN	3.98
26. GREENE	3.97
27. LEWIS	3.92
28. HUGHES	3.84
29. MELLO	3.73
30. ROGERS	3.64
31. CRAVEN	3.61
32. WYMAN	3.56
33. AYALA	3.46
34. ROSENTHAL	3.42
35. ALQUIST	3.31
36. DILLS	3.21
37. MARKS	2.57

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: GARY HART
1992: PAT JOHNSTON

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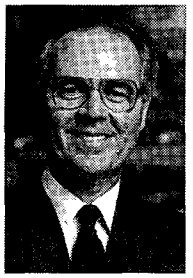
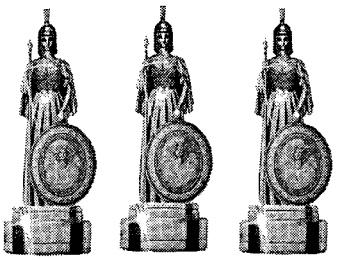
Chula Vista served in the Assembly at the time and is ranked with that house. The man he replaced, Waddie Deddeh, was not ranked. Also not ranked are former GOP Senator Rebecca Morgan of Los Altos Hills and former Democratic Senator Barry Keene of Benicia. They both left the Legislature last year. Their respective replacements — Republicans Tom Campbell of Palo Alto and Maurice Johannessen of Redding — were not included in the survey.



PHIL ISENBERG



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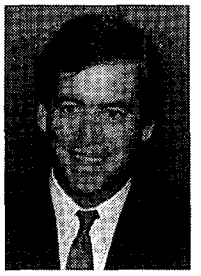

PAT JOHNSTON

ASSEMBLY

1. ISENBERG	8.24
2. BROWN, W.	7.98
3. VASCONCELLOS	7.42
4. BRULTE	7.37
5. O'CONNELL	7.33
6. SPEIER	7.08
7. HANNIGAN	7.03
8. SHER	6.86
9. EASTIN	6.84
10. UMBERG	6.80
11. CAMPBELL	6.78
12. FRIEDMAN, T.	6.74
13. MARGOLIN	6.68
14. ALPERT	6.53
15. KATZ	6.51
15. PEACE	6.51
17. BOWEN	6.48
17. BROWN, V.	6.48
19. CALDERA	6.45
20. JONES	6.42
21. BURTON	6.39
22. ARCHIE-HUDSON	6.31
23. GOLDSMITH	6.20
24. FRIEDMAN, B.	6.15
25. POLANCO	6.11
26. AGUIAR	6.10
26. ANDAL	6.10
28. RICHTER	6.08
29. JOHNSON	6.06
30. BORNSTEIN	6.05
31. STATHAM	6.00
32. COSTA	5.94
33. SOLIS	5.84
34. NOLAN	5.77
34. BATES	5.77
36. KLEHS	5.72
37. WOODRUFF	5.70
38. RAINEY	5.65
38. HAUSER	5.65
40. LEE	5.63
41. WEGGELAND	5.59
42. MOORE	5.58
43. TAKASUGI	5.56
44. HARVEY	5.53
45. GOTCH	5.51
45. QUACKENBUSH	5.51
47. ESCUTIA	5.44
47. PRINGLE	5.44
49. FRAZEE	5.37
50. HOGE	5.26
51. CANNELLA	5.25
51. BUSTAMANTE	5.25
53. MCDONALD	5.21
54. KARNETTE	5.16
55. AREIAS	5.15
56. CONNOLLY	5.14
57. MORROW	5.06
58. BOWLER	5.02
59. HAYNES	4.90
60. TUCKER	4.86
61. NAPOLITANO	4.84
62. SEASTRAND	4.81
63. SNYDER	4.80
64. KNOWLES	4.79
65. CORTESE	4.78
66. CONROY	4.77
67. BACA	4.75
68. EPPLE	4.68
69. ALLEN	4.63
70. HONEYCUTT	4.58
71. BOLAND	4.54
72. MOUNTJOY	4.53
73. HORCHER	4.44
74. KNIGHT	4.14
75. MARTINEZ	4.05
76. BRONSHVAG	4.03
77. FERGUSON	3.92
78. MURRAY	3.39

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: LLOYD CONNELLY
1992: PHIL ISENBERG

SENATE

1. JOHNSTON	7.75
2. HART	7.44
3. KOPP	7.35
4. BERGESON	7.30
5. MADDY	7.26
6. ROBERTI	7.25
7. PRESLEY	6.90
8. LOCKYER	6.74
9. LEONARD	6.53
10. PETRIS	6.49
11. TORRES	6.41
12. KILLEA	6.37
13. THOMPSON	6.29
14. HILL	6.17
15. RUSSELL	5.98
16. BEVERLY	5.85
17. ALQUIST	5.79
18. GREENE	5.75
19. BOATWRIGHT	5.66
20. LESLIE	5.60
21. MCCORQUODALE	5.59
22. DILLS	5.44
23. HAYDEN	5.34
24. CRAVEN	5.30
25. CALDERON	5.21
26. HURTT	5.11
27. ROSENTHAL	5.09
28. WATSON	4.99
29. KELLEY	4.95
30. WRIGHT	4.74
31. HUGHES	4.64
32. MELLO	4.62
33. ROGERS	4.60
34. AYALA	4.59
35. LEWIS	4.44
36. WYMAN	4.39
37. MARKS	3.97

PREVIOUS #1'S:
1990: BOB PRESLEY
1992: PAT JOHNSTON

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Overhauling AFDC

By Susan Rasky

The Legislature's swift action on a series of misguided anti-crime measures illustrates the basic truth about policymaking: never underestimate the ability of those who govern at the public's pleasure to fashion simplistic solutions to complicated problems — especially in an election year.

With the policy direction on crime now so firmly set, the inexorable rhythm of the campaign trail suggests that California lawmakers will soon be scrambling for the same kind of quick fixes to another complicated problem — welfare. If Governor Pete Wilson has his way, dramatic overhaul of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, under which 2.6 million Californians receive welfare assistance, will become a major issue in the gubernatorial race. President Bill Clinton's own dabblings on the subject almost guarantee it.

To give the governor his due, the AFDC reform proposals contained in his current budget proposal build upon ideological beliefs and policy prescriptions he has espoused since taking office. In general, they seek to make the financial rewards for working, even in the lowest wage jobs, greater than remaining on public assistance.

Nobody would argue that that isn't good politics, although it is worth noting that Wilson's attempt to use those politics to his advantage in 1992 backfired when a welfare-reform ballot initiative he proposed was resoundingly defeated by voters. But do the notions underlying the governor's reform efforts or those in other states and in Washington, D.C., make any policy sense?

So much of what drives the periodic efforts to reform welfare is a conflicted American view about society's responsibility to the poor or disadvantaged, not to mention a tangle of public myths and misconceptions about how the overall welfare system works, how much it costs and who its primary recipients are.

On one hand, Americans are willing to accept the idea that their tax dollars should help care for those who can't fend for themselves — children, the elderly, the sick, the disabled and even folks who are just down on their luck for a while. On the other hand, Americans remain suspicious that the system is rife with cheaters, loafers and shirkers — people who could work but won't because a life on AFDC is too cushy.

That fundamental suspicion of welfare runs far deeper than the more sophisticated concerns about cycles of dependency and erosion of the family structure first raised three decades ago by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. His once radical views are now widely shared — or at least echoed — by would-be reformers of all political stripes.

From the policy experts who wring their hands about such things, and the politicians who take their cues from them, a rough consensus seems to have emerged: Two years on AFDC should be the limit for most adults. Why two years, and not three or five or one is anybody's guess. Debates over welfare policy rarely proceed from logic.

Indeed, as President Clinton is learning, it is one thing to pledge an "end to welfare as we know it," and quite another to convince Americans or their elected representatives that genuine reforms almost certainly will require more federal spending, not less. Debates over welfare policy always demand at least lip service to the notion that reforms are going to save the taxpayers money.

While the president has yet to offer a detailed plan, he has called for a two-year time limit on receiving public support payments and coupled it with a promise of job training and child care. But after that, he has said, anyone who can, must work, "in the private sector if possible, in community service if necessary." Whatever that means. Clinton also has endorsed proposals that would require minors receiving AFDC payments to live with an adult.

Wilson's plan, which includes such a requirement for minors, also seeks to eliminate payment increases for families who have an additional child while on aid. But after two previous rounds of welfare payment cuts imposed on budgetary grounds, those are just trimmings.

The overhaul the governor seeks is a sweeping one that would cut AFDC grants in California by 10 percent, effective July 1st. Beginning in 1995, families with "an able-bodied adult" continuing on aid for more than six months would have their AFDC grants reduced another 15 percent, bringing the basic grant level down to $464 a month from the current $607 a month for a family of three. Adults who are working while receiving welfare payments would be allowed to keep a greater share of their earnings than under present law without having their grants reduced, and allowances would be made for child-care expenses.

Effective in 1996, welfare payments to able-bodied adults in families that have been on AFDC for 24 months or longer would cease and the families would receive only the portion of AFDC payments allocated to their children. While adults and their children would continue to receive food stamps along with health-care coverage under Medi-Cal, the former welfare recipients would be on their own in finding jobs to replace their benefit payments.

Wilson administration officials say the governor's proposed budget provides enough money to ensure that all adults subject to the two-year AFDC limit (an estimated 479,000 people, according to figures supplied by the administration) can participate in the state's Greater Avenues for Independence employment-assistance program before their AFDC eligibility expires. The budget assumes funding for 272,425 new GAIN slots of six-months' duration each, through June 1996, according to the administration.

Critics of the governor's welfare proposals are skeptical about that arithmetic, noting that GAIN has never been funded sufficiently to serve all of those who wished to take advantage of it. They also question the long-term financial viability of the governor's plan to shift 50 percent of the state's share of AFDC costs and 25 percent of its share of Medi-Cal costs to the counties. The governor's budget proposes a transfer of $2.6 billion in property and sales-tax revenues from the state to the counties to finance the new arrangement.

Putting aside those pesky details, the most basic question is what kind of job prospects await the nearly half-a-million adult welfare recipients who would be tossed into California's labor market, more or less *en masse*, when their grants run out?

At the moment, the only jobs that promise to keep growing are those for prison guards.

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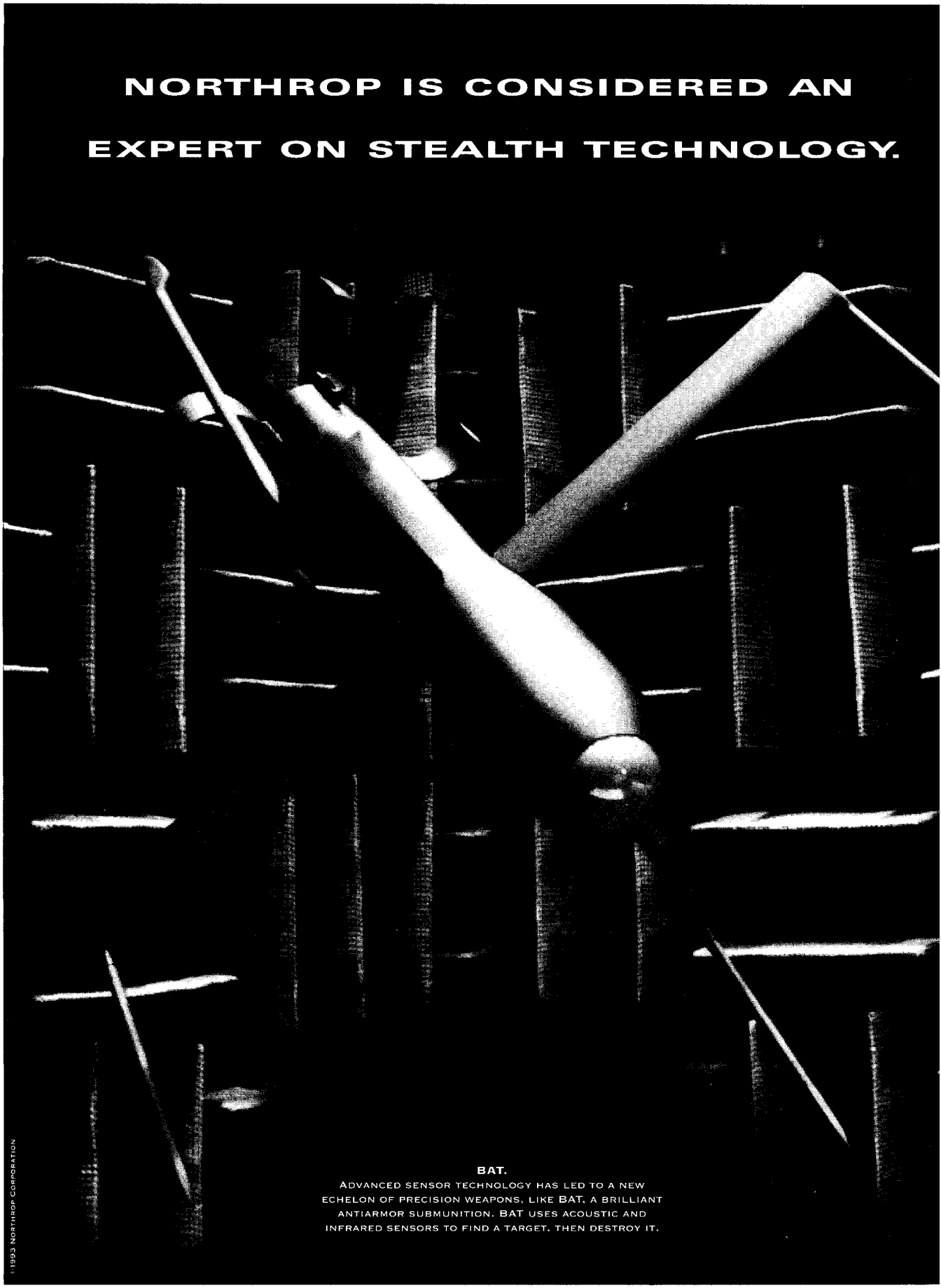

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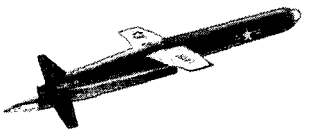

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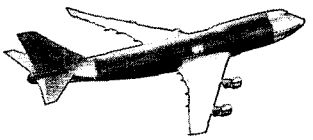

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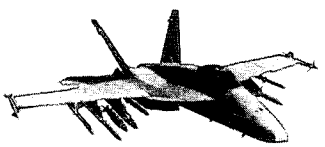

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ELECTION '94

They want to write the state's checks, and six candidates will have to write a few of their own to reach that goal

By Mary Beth Barber

"The power is in the pocket book," as the saying goes, and a handful of Californians who want to be state controller tend to agree. If sunny California is going to get through these cloudy economic times, the state's check-writer is the one to do it, they believe. And all of them, four Democrats and two Republicans, have very clear ideas and plans and strategies to get the state on its feet again as its chief financial officer.

That there would be as many as six candidates for a not-so-flashy constitutional office may be summed up in one word: vacancy. The current controller, two-term Democrat Gray Davis, is running for lieutenant governor. The four Democrats who may jockey to succeed Davis are San Jose Assemblyman Rusty Areias, Alameda County Supervisor Don Perata, businesswoman Kathleen Connell and Board of Equalization Chairman Brad Sherman.

On the Republican side, Tom McClintock, a former assemblyman from Ventura County who unsuccessfully ran for Congress in 1992, seemed to have the field to himself until businessman John Morris entered the race at the end of last year. Morris, heir to the Mervyn's department store fortune, loaned himself $500,000 and hired consultant Ronald Smith from Los Angeles. Smith, who usually represents moderate Republicans, claims that Morris decided to enter the race on his own, although his decision probably pleased moderate Republicans, many of whom were less than enthusiastic about the ultra-conservative McClintock having the primary to himself.

McClintock, a fiscal conservative who "agrees with many libertarian ideals," is already well known in the Capitol. As an assemblyman, he was regarded as a sort of budget gadfly who continually peppered budget floor debates with dire warnings about the fiscal consequences of each spending plan. Few were exempt from his barbs, including Governor Pete Wilson, who McClintock often attacked for raising taxes or moving money from local government to the state rather than cutting expenditures. He even flirted with the notion of challenging Wilson for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1994, but dropped the idea.

After losing his 1992 congressional race to incumbent Democrat Tony Beilenson, McClintock founded Sacramento-based Center for the California Taxpayer, an anti-tax group. "We proposed 190 separate line items" that could be eliminated to save the state almost $9 billion, he said. The controller could be the one to shape up state government with the office's audit power. "My conservatism has always been based on the mismanagement of the state's resources," he says. "An aggressive state controller can lay siege to [state] waste."

McClintock vows to change politics as usual. The requirement to educate illegal immigrants could be raised in the courts if the controller were to refuse to write a check for such spending. "I might just do that," he said. And he thinks the state doesn't need to spend billions on corrections. "The expansion of the prison system is necessary. What isn't is the bucks to build them." He's made it known that he thinks some state employees — including prison guards — are grossly overpaid. His statements have alienated the prison guard union, which tends to give generously to Republican candidates.

But those unions may have elsewhere to turn. Morris, a political unknown with plenty of his own cash to spend, is very concerned about crime and supports tougher sentencing laws. "I've been a victim of a violent crime," he said. He was robbed at gunpoint while working at a retail outlet when he was 17 "and nothing happened to the guy who did it."

In stark contrast to McClintock, who spent much of his last legislative term bashing Pete Wilson, Morris agrees with Wilson on a variety of issues, including asking the federal government to pick up most of the costs associated with illegal aliens. Morris believes his real asset is his business experience, however. Although an heir to the Mervyn's chain, Morris says he's worked since his youth, built retail centers throughout the state, and has always dedicated himself to civic endeavors. If he wins, "100 percent of my salary would be donated to charities," he said.

Like the two Republicans, none of the Democrats is particularly well known statewide, and the images each will draw upon varies. Areias, for instance, brings to the race a legislative career where flash often overshadowed substance. A one-time *Cosmo-*

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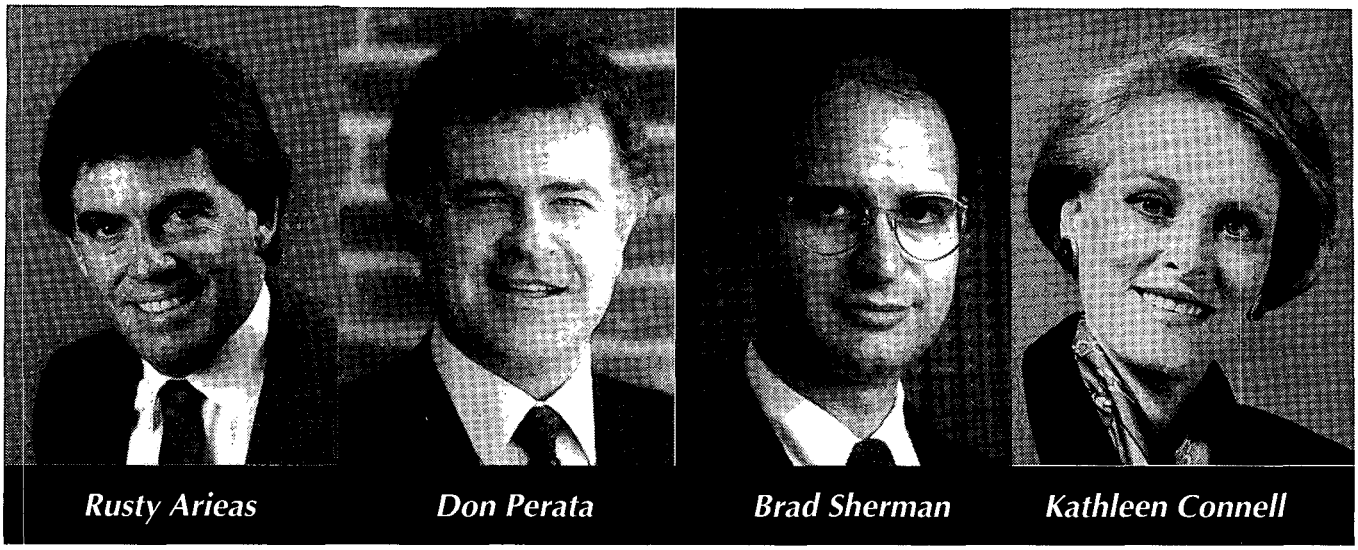

politan "hunk-of-the-month," Areias' early legislative years saw him develop the reputation as a Capitol playboy. He also became something of a rebel when, as a member of the "Gang of Five," he tried to topple Willie Brown Jr.'s Assembly speakership back in 1988. But Areias also has cultivated a solid record as a consumer advocate. He seems more thoughtful these days when it comes to ideas about solving some of the problems faced by state government. If he had his way, the state would rewrite the majority of its permitting regulations, invest in infrastructure investments like water projects and universities, and use or sell parcels of property owned but unused by the state. A dairy farmer by trade, Areias said he would be more than happy to return to the farm if his current crusade falls short. Areias' shortcoming, at this point, seems to be cash. He had only $242,075 in the bank at the end of 1993, according to financial reports filed with the secretary of state's office. That makes him last in spending power among the Democratic candidates.

Kathleen Connell, on the other hand, is loaded with cash — with $568,801 on hand as of December 31, 1993. A political neophyte, Connell is a businesswoman, who has a doctorate from UCLA and business credential after business credential. She also served as Los Angeles housing director under former Mayor Tom Bradley. Most of her career has been spent either in business or academia. She founded and chaired the Center for Finance and Real Estate at the John E. Anderson Graduate School of Management at UCLA and taught at UC Berkeley. Her most recent job was with Chemical Bank in charge of financial services. What Connell herself lacks in campaign experience is more than compensated for by the folks she has hired for her campaign. Campaign manager Terri New did a similar job for Texas Governor Ann Richards, media consultant Mandy Grunwald worked for President Bill Clinton and consultant Fred Register once helped guide the campaigns of former Attorney General John Van de Kamp.

Connell sticks out in the controller's race like a woman in a bright red dress in a roomful of dour brown and blue suits — a situation she's faced elsewhere. "I've always been in industries that are male dominated," she said. That she is a woman in a crowded race of men may give her an advantage, but she's not going to make that part of the campaign. "I'm not running this race on gender."

Colleagues encouraged her to run for controller, she said. The chief financial officer can influence the state's economy, and she's been studying economics and job development for decades. Improving education, starting more infrastructure development, improving Californians' technical job skills and running the controller's office with performance-based budgeting are a few of her ideas.

Some Democrats, however, see her as an opportunist, jumping at a chance to win statewide office. They back their claim by pointing out that Connell did not change her registration from "decline to state" to Democrat until late 1993.

Perata brings a local-government perspective to the race. An eight-year veteran of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, he wants to clean up local government. "There are far too many agencies of local government," and those agencies spend money over turf battles rather than working together to get things done. The controller, as the chief auditor of the state as well as the chief financial officer, can keep an eye on locals and reorganize the system, said Perata.

Northern California football fans may know Perata's name from his involvement with the failed attempt to keep the Los Angeles Raiders in Oakland and his later attempt to lure Raiders' owner Al Davis back to Oakland. Voters with ties to the military know him from his efforts to keep open a number of bases in the San Francisco Bay area that the federal government ultimately decided to close.

But Perata's ties to Southern California are more intriguing, for he has earned endorsements from the Berman-Waxman political apparatus. Led by Los Angeles Congressmen Howard Berman and Henry Waxman, in the past, it has wielded power through its funding ability and its slate-mailer program. As a result, Perata has received support from a number of elected officials connected to Berman-Waxman, including Congressmen Julian Dixon of Culver City and Matthew Martinez of Monterey Park. Northern Congressmen Ron Dellums of Berkeley, George Miller of Martinez and Pete Stark of Fremont also may back Perata.

Perata claims that the bulk of state costs are for legal immigrants, and that's where California officials like the controller should focus for federal

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money. Southeast Asians in Alameda, San Jose and Los Angeles — legal immigrants — such as the Hmong "have no written language" and need resources just to function in the U.S., since it's so completely foreign to them.

Perata's funding base is not substantial: $346,526 as of December 31st. But he hopes to gain grassroots support. His "Dollars for Don" envelope donation program — which he calls a variation of the "1-800-Jerry-Brown" for President campaign — has been trickling in donations that will add up, he said. Money aside, he believes he has what it takes to win. "Really what we're talking about is a strong leader," one who will be tough on a number of issues. Perata says he's been there before; he claims he's had death threats over his support of gun control.

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Sherman, on the other hand, listens to all the talk about immigration, crime, education and job creation and just shakes his head. That's not what the job entails, he said. Just because the controller's signature is on the checks doesn't mean he or she can control everything in the state. And he should know, he says; he sits on the Board of Equalization with the controller. What the controller does is, in reality, quite boring. It's little things, nothing that really gains headlines. For example, when Davis found $30 million-worth of fraud in the Medi-Cal system, the only media attention it gained was that the savings were only a drop in the bucket. Sherman's consultants might cringe when he raises an eyebrow at his opponents' "controller changes government" campaign, but he says he's not going to try to fool the public. Legislative and policy power comes from others, not the chief financial officer.

Sherman nearly backed out of the controller's race because of the crowded Democratic field but, as of mid-February, had decided to stay in. He has until March 11th — the deadline for filing nomination papers — to make up his mind. As a safety valve, Sherman has filed papers of intent both for controller and for re-election to the board. Candidates may file letters of intent for more than one office but may only take out nomination papers for one.

Sherman's indecision is not unique. Senator David Roberti, the former presi-

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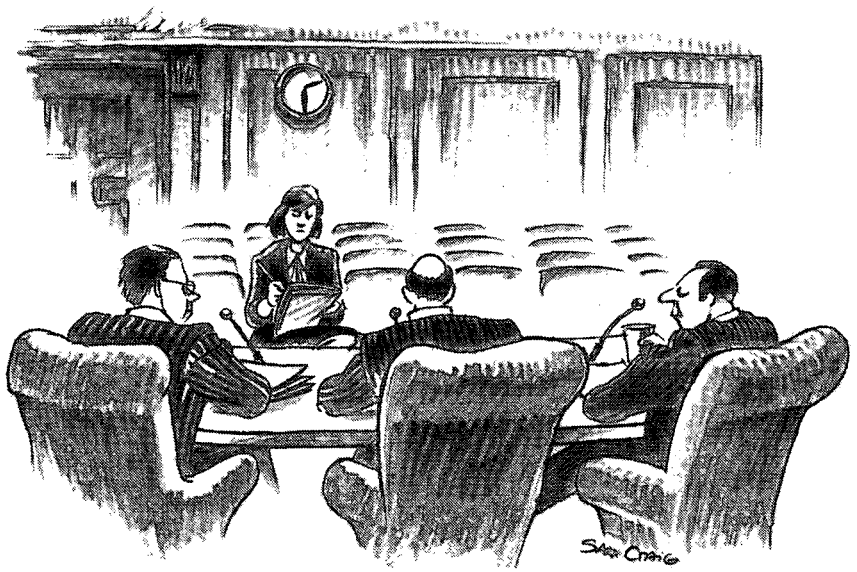

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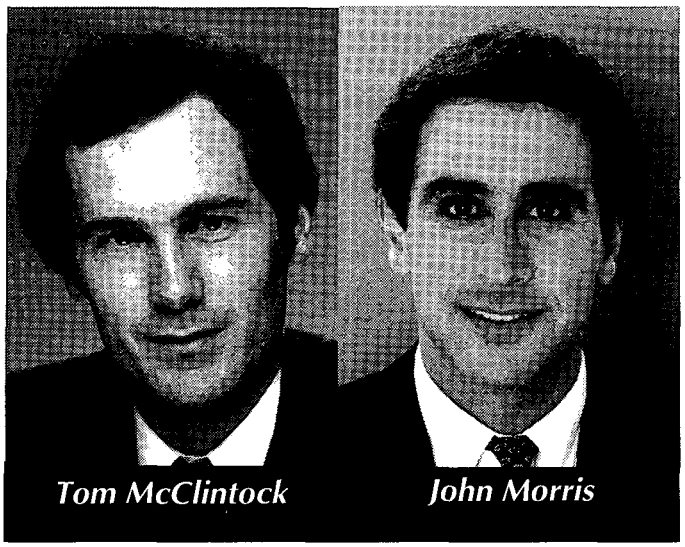

dent pro tempore who is running for state treasurer, also filed an intent to run for Sherman's seat on the Board of Equalization. Thus, Sherman could find himself between the proverbial rock and hard place come March 11th.

As a Harvard-educated tax lawyer and certified public accountant, Sherman believes he's perfect for the job of state auditor. But it's a hard sell to the public, especially when the other candidates talk about flashy issues like crime and immigration. But Sherman feels he can bring a healthy, fiscal perspective to the position, especially concerning topics like taxes on foreign businesses, a subject he's worked with even before being elected to the Board of Equalization in 1990. He's also familiar with public-employee unions. And he would like to get more personally involved with audits. "I think there is a wealth of whistle-blowers out there," he said.

Sherman, who admits to being bookish, has decent name recognition in his home base of Los Angeles but not in the north. His bankroll is nearly as large as Connell's — $540,366 — and he'll use it to pump up his name recognition.

Ironically, the race for the job that deals with the state's money will come down to money — who has the most and how they use it during the campaign. All controller wanna-bes agree that the media, especially radio and television advertisements, will make or break their campaign. Controller is not a flashy office, but all the candidates say they'll campaign hard to get people interested. And that will take lots and lots of the same stuff these six candidates want to control: money.

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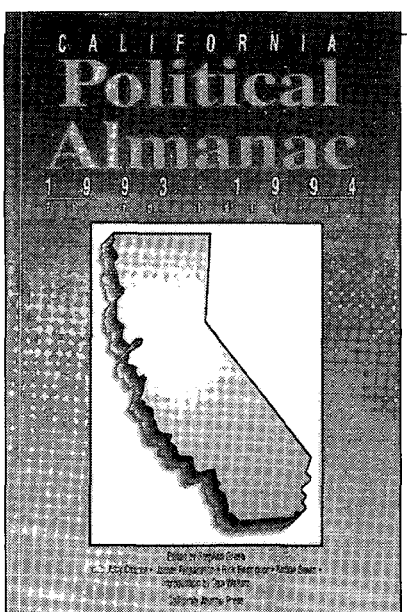

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PAY AS YOU GO

Privatizing California's "Public" Higher Education System

By Steve Scott

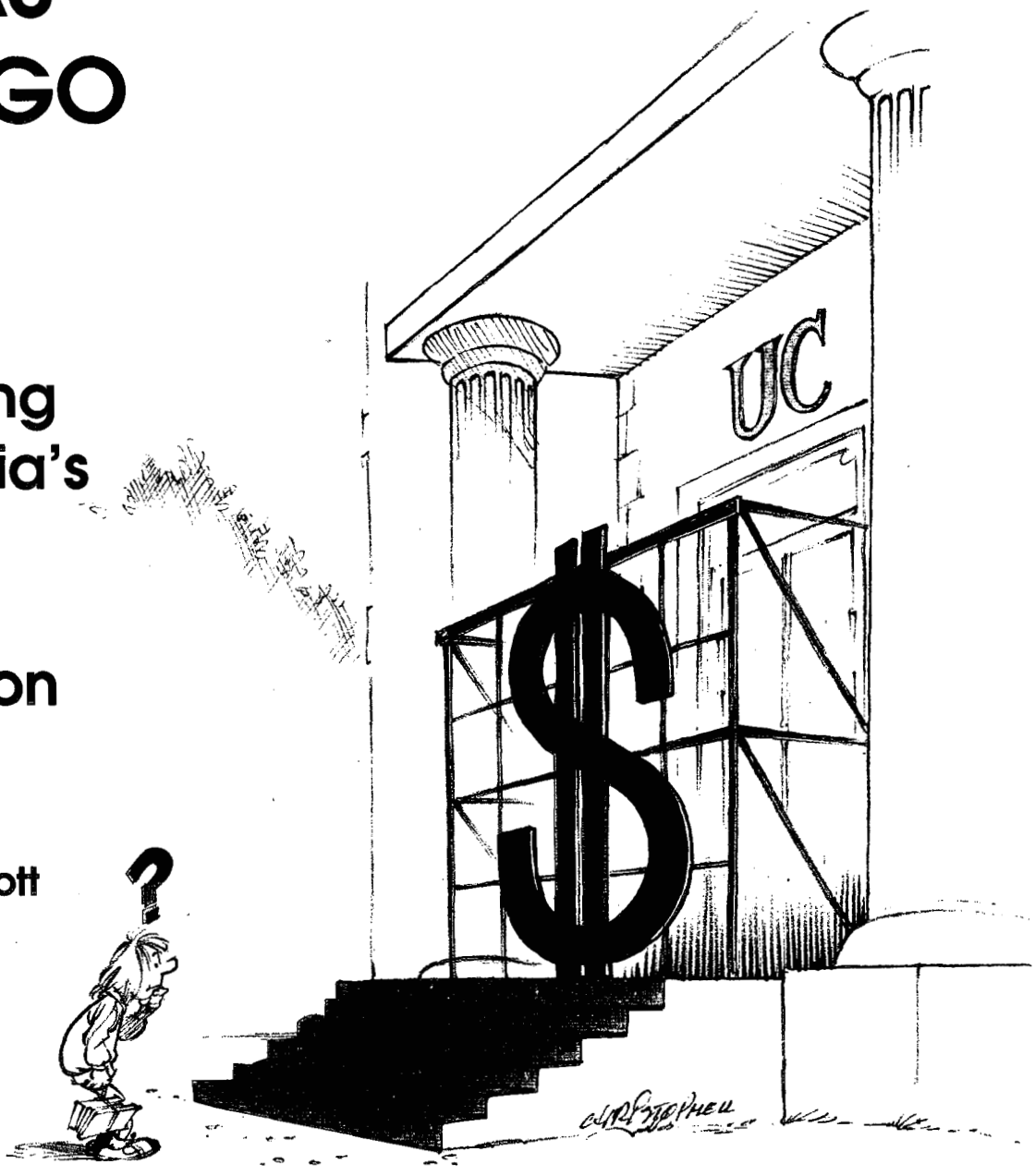

illustration by Christopher

Posterity will record that history was made twice during the third week in January 1994. At the beginning of the week, the state's most expensive natural disaster struck the San Fernando Valley in the form of a magnitude 6.8 earthquake and a seemingly unending string of aftershocks. At the end of the week, a different kind of aftershock tumbled out of a San Francisco meeting of the University of California Board of Regents. With only two dissenting votes, the 25-member board took an unprecedented step. They didn't admit that they'd taken it. The university's administration, in fact, explicitly denies that they've taken it. Nonetheless, by all but the most ephemeral semantic criteria, the University of California adopted a policy toward resident students that its founders would have considered unthinkable.

It began charging them tuition.

The barrier was crossed not when the board approved a $620 increase in "student fees" for the coming fiscal year. It wasn't crossed when they also approved a multi-year fee plan that could, by 1996, push UC student fees from the current $3700 a year to more than $5400 a year. No, the psychological line in the sand was erased with the adoption of an accompanying policy change which, for the first time, explicitly permits the use of student fee money to help pay "instructional expenses," including faculty salaries. The

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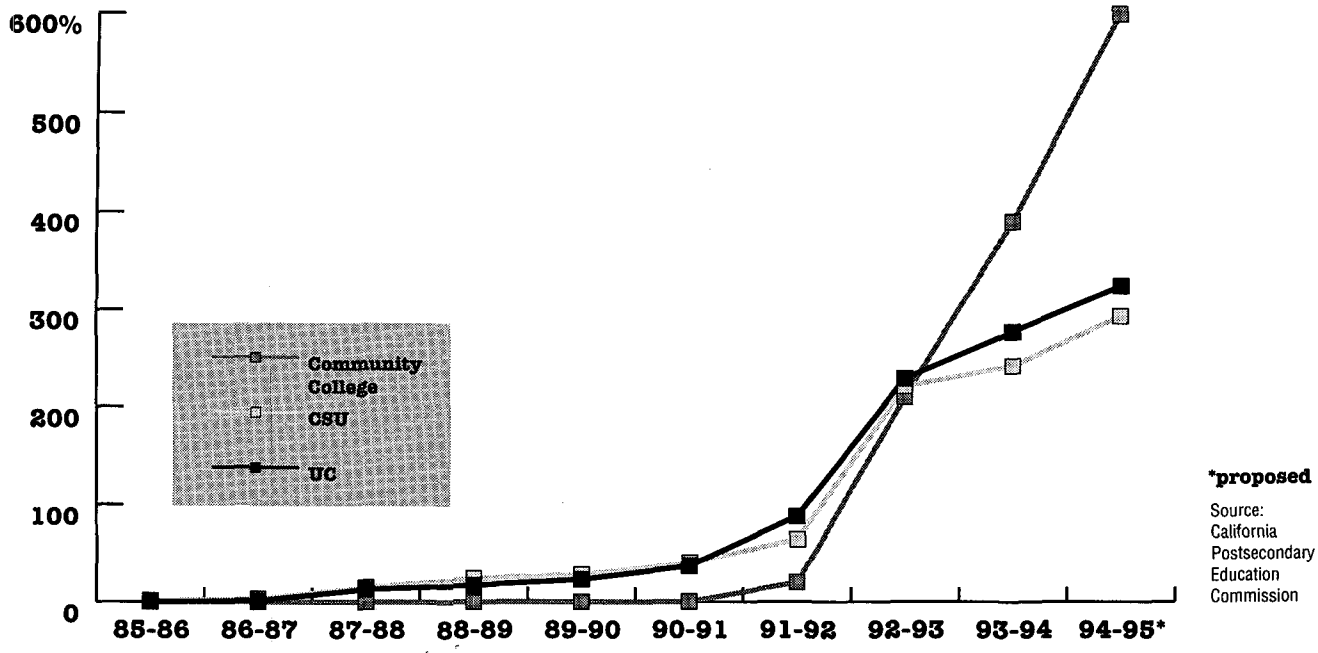
A Decade of Growth in Undergraduate Student Fees



new policy effectively breaks the "no tuition" compact at the cornerstone of the 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education, which proposes fees only for non-instructional, "support" services.

"I don't care what you call it. We're charging tuition," says Ward Connerly, one of only two votes against the fee changes.

Not that the change comes as any great surprise. The definition of "support" services has broadened over the past decade and not too long ago was expanded to include money for libraries. For many involved with higher education, however, the change at UC is the clearest symbol yet of how far California has strayed from the public higher-education utopia of the Master Plan — accessible, affordable higher education for every adult who can benefit. Consider the following:

• Governor Pete Wilson's new state budget proposes a $7 per unit community college fee increase. If approved, full-time community college students will pay $600 a year, or about as much as it cost to go to a California State University campus just six years ago.

• Last year, the CSU Board of Trustees approved a four-year fee-increase structure designed to increase student fees to one-third the cost of instruction. If fully implemented, that means fees could rise as high as $2400 a year by 1997, or a four-fold increase in just nine years.

• Enrollment in public higher education in the state last year dropped by 160,000, or 8 percent, far and away the largest drop in the nation. Most of that enrollment decline was in community colleges, which lost 137,000 students.

• If the UC price structure approved by the regents is fully implemented, "fees" at the university in 1996 will be roughly three times what they were when Wilson took office in 1990.

"People have always thought in California that if you did the right things, and took the right courses, there was a place for you in higher education," says Patrick Callan, director of the California Higher Education Policy Center, a San Jose-based think tank. "We've put a damper on that."

The guardians of UC, CSU and the community colleges maintain the dramatic fee hikes are simply a reaction to the collapse of the California economy and to the shrinkage in state revenue available for higher education. "These are painful decisions," concedes UC spokesman Mike Alva, "but you have to make decisions to retain quality and access in these tough times."

"The students feel we've done this to them," says longtime UC Regent Roy Brophy. "I share their frustration, but ... economic downfall is a faceless crime."

Officials also maintain that, even with the fee increases, students in California still get a better deal than their counterparts in other states. According to the state Department of Finance, fees at both CSU and UC remain lower than those for resident students at competing institutions in other states. Wilson himself says the two systems remain "a good deal" despite the escalation in fees. The administration makes an even stronger case for the community colleges, which have historically had the nation's lowest fees. If Wilson's proposed $7 per unit fee hike is approved by the Legislature, community college fees will still, according to the administration, be the third lowest in the nation.

"Community colleges, even at the level of fees proposed in our budget, are an extraordinary bargain," says Ray Reinhard, Wilson's assistant secretary for child development and education.

Comparisons with other states, however, are little comfort to the students and parents who are writing larger checks or borrowing more. According to the California Student Aid

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Commission, California college students took out a record $1.24 billion in new loans in the last six months of 1993 — a 50 percent jump over the same period in 1993. Other students find themselves working longer and longer hours, and some risk being priced out of college altogether. "It's really hard," says Alexi Waddell, a senior at Sacramento State University who works 40 hours a week at two different jobs. "Everyone tells me that I work too much for my class load ... but I have to work a lot."

As the check gets larger, meanwhile, course and section offerings diminish. Thousands of course sections have been cut system-wide at CSU, forcing an increasing number of students to extend their education an extra year in order to meet their major's course requirements.

"There's a lot fewer sections offered of the basic core classes," observes Sacramento State student Martha McCamy. "Even in some of the larger classrooms, it's 'standing room only.'"

Since 1990 community colleges have reduced the number of course sections by 10 percent. More specialized courses — such as certain foreign languages, design and graphic arts — were eliminated to make way for more offerings in core courses, such as math, science, and English. Even then, college officials report long lines and scheduling difficulties.

"Community colleges that are supposed to support the economics of Los Angeles with vocational education ... have been cutting back courses," laments Tony Loudon, president of the California Student Association of Community Colleges. "If you can't retrain people in L.A., you can't 'Rebuild L.A.'"

"The original idea was that public higher education would be affordable by all Californians who were qualified."

— Tom Hayden

It doesn't take an economics major to figure out what happens when fees go up and course offerings go down: students bail. Enrollment at CSU dropped 6 percent last year, with 22,000 fewer students attending classes — 13,000 of them full-time students. UC lost only 2 percent of its 125,000 students in 1993, a change not surprising given that UC students tend to come from more affluent homes than those attending CSU. Most shocking was the decline in enrollment at community colleges — down 137,000 students, or 9 percent of the more than 1.5 million attending these schools. About 40 percent of those were students who already had bachelor's degrees and were taking courses either for enrichment or for retraining. Many of these students checked out after the Legislature approved a $50 per unit "differential fee" for post-baccalaureate students.

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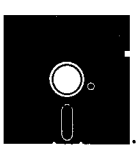

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"A dollar saved to a family that can pay more is a dollar denied to a student who really needs it."

— Richard Reinhard

What makes the enrollment drops at CSU and community colleges especially striking is that they occur at a time when the pressure for increased enrollment should be overwhelming. Not only is the state's population growing, but fee increases at the more expensive institutions have traditionally fueled enrollment at the less expensive schools. The economic downturn itself should have caused community college enrollments to soar, as those forced out of work by the recession go back to school for retraining. Yet, the trend continues downward.

"Part of the bargain of the Master Plan ... was to provide an open access to community college," notes Charles Cabaldon, chief consultant for the Assembly Higher Education Committee. "We're losing a whole bunch of students for whom community college were intended."

Recognizing the barriers to access that can be created by sharp fee increases during a recession, all three systems have accompanied their hikes with hefty increases in financial aid. Since 1990 roughly one-third of every additional fee dollar has gone into the financial aid pool at UC, CSU and the community colleges. UC Regent William Bagley says the fee increases have allowed the university "to provide full aid to cover the needy student." Financial-aid dollars have doubled at community colleges since 1990, and CSU officials claim a more than five-fold increase over the same period. "We've been forced to confront a reality that's been hidden," says Ray Reinhard. "A dollar saved to a family that can pay more is a dollar denied to a student who really needs it."

Critics say the financial aid backfill doesn't nearly make up for the impact of the fee hikes, particularly on middle-income students. While UC enrollment of low-income students has risen from 25 percent to 29 percent, the university has lost students with family incomes in the $50,000 to $70,000 range. Changes in the eligibility criteria, including a recent one more closely tying aid to parents' income, have hit students especially hard. "The way the financial aid system is structured, you have to be dirt poor," says Waddell. "You have to have practically nothing to get financial aid."

"This recession has been a white-collar, professional, middle-class recession," notes Callan. "It has struck right at the heart of people who have been to college, and who send their kids to college."

While they insist they are making adjustments to better account for the hard-luck cases, officials concede that students with family incomes above $50,000 will likely have to either work or borrow more. Still, they steadfastly maintain that the new fee structure is infinitely better than allowing the quality of instruction to erode any further than it may have already.

"We recognize that may be difficult," notes UC spokesman Alva, "but we believe that by maintaining the quality of the institution, the sacrifices will be worth it."

Student groups also believe the colleges and universities haven't done enough to cut administrative and non-essential costs. The issue is particularly touchy at UC, where critics have long charged that professors don't spend enough time in the classroom. "There are cost-containment efforts on campuses, but there's no system-wide commitment to cost containment," says Sara Swan with the UC Students Association. "They're only looking at fees."

"The usual view in higher education is that quality is a function of how much money you spend, and if you increase productivity, you give up quality," says Callan. "That has to be challenged."

Officials in all three systems vigorously deny that they've ignored cost containment. UC claims to have cut nearly half a billion dollars from its budgets over the last four years, and UC President Jack Pelatson says the institution is undergoing "a serious restructuring of the way we go about our business." CSU's downsizing in course offerings has been accompanied by a significant administrative downsizing. "Just last year," says CSU spokesman Steve MacCarthy, "our central administration took a 20 percent cut, and campuses took a 1.5 percent to 2 percent cut."

Still, the criticism resonates in the ears of the CSU Board of Trustees and the UC Regents, who make the policy decisions and must face the phone calls from frustrated students, parents and legislators. Before voting for the new UC fee policy, several regents made it clear they are watching the administration closely, and expect fee rollbacks to be the top priority if more state dollars become available. "I'm concerned that we're going to end up being the most expensive public education system in the country," says Brophy. "This can't go on."

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Much of this rhetorical thrust-and-parry, of course, is for the benefit of the Legislature and the governor, who have the ultimate power to shape student fee policy. Last year, CSU's four-year master fee plan suffered a setback when the Legislature chopped its 37 percent fee increase to 10 percent. This year's $340 proposed increase should face similar scrutiny, as lawmakers are suspicious about the concept of tying fees to a certain percentage of the cost of instruction. Fee policy is also expected to be at the center of a higher education "summit," which new Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward) says is planned for later in the spring. The summit is expected to be modeled after last year's economic "summit" organized by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

Prospects for keeping the fees down, however, depend largely on the success of Governor Wilson's request for $3 billion in additional federal assistance. The prospects for such a bailout are considered "iffy" at best. Even if that money comes through and the state's economy turns around, however, virtually everyone associated with higher education concedes the days of the "low cost, high quality" system envisioned by the Master Plan seem doomed.

"When you look at the increasing number of students coming out of secondary schools, and the limited amount of state dollars ... the pressure on student fees is going to be tremendous," says Dr. Warren Fox, executive director of the California Postsecondary Education Commission.

What's left for policymakers, then, is the same awful conundrum — hike fees and further threaten access, or roll fees back and possibly threaten the value of the degree itself. With those in charge of higher education continuing to insist that there's no fat left to be cut, students and their advocates see nothing but more and larger fee increases in the years ahead. These increases, they believe, will further strain the already tenuous link between the vision of the Master Plan and the realities of the recession-ravaged 1990s.

"The original idea was that public higher education would be affordable by all Californians who were qualified," says state Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica). "We now have a means test."

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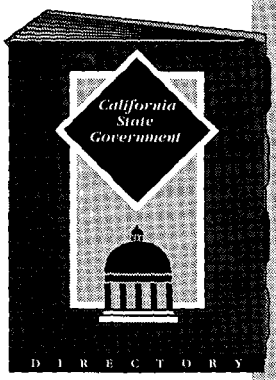

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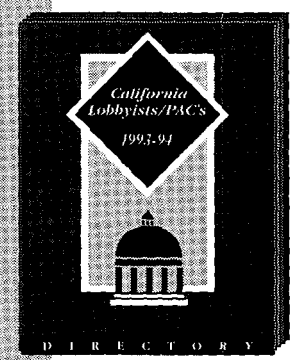

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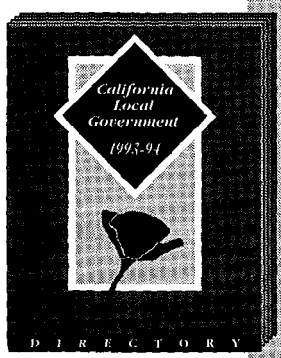

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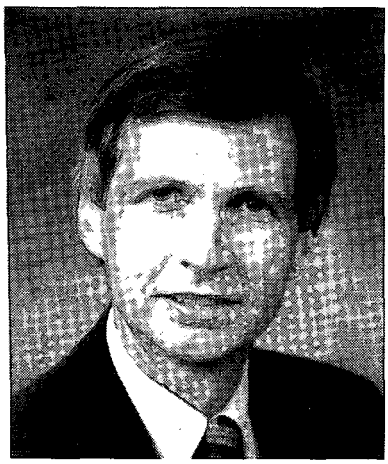
ELECTION '94

Four candidates in the ring to replace March Fong Eu

Bill Jones



Tony Miller

Gwen Moore

Mike Woo

By Danielle Starkey

The staff remember it well: In March 1992, hundreds of people called Secretary of State March Fong Eu daily to complain about her decision to leave Ross Perot off the ballot unless he turned in the required statement affirming his candidacy for president. At the time, Perot's supporters had taken care of the first part of the process by turning in the required nominating signatures. But Perot himself was going around the country asserting that he was *not* a candidate, so Eu took him at his word. An hour before the deadline, the statement came in.

While the Perot incident drew nationwide interest, it is one of the few times Californians have paid attention to their chief elections officer. Since being elected in 1974, Eu and her staff have run the office in an efficient, low-key way. Hundreds of election decisions have come out of that office, some of them controversial, but Eu, a Democrat, nevertheless has earned bi-partisan respect for her fairness and skill in maintaining the state's tradition of fraud-free elections.

Now that Eu, 72, has been confirmed as United States ambassador to Micronesia, a new era in California elections may be about to begin. For the first time since 1974, when then-Secretary of State Jerry Brown ran for governor, the seat is open.

Three Democrats and a Republican so far have declared

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their intention to succeed Eu. The candidates include Eu's long-time chief deputy and now acting secretary of state, Tony Miller, who is the first openly gay candidate from a major party to seek statewide office; former Los Angeles City Councilman Michael Woo, a Chinese-American; Los Angeles Assemblywoman Gwen Moore, an African-American; and Fresno Assemblyman Bill Jones, a Caucasian. Each is considered a strong candidate, but their biggest challenge may be to capture the public's imagination for a relatively obscure office with races for governor, U.S. Senate and attorney general on the same ballot.

"I think most people thought March Fong Eu had the office for life," jokes Democratic campaign consultant David Townsend, who ran Eu's 1986 campaign. "It's a down-ticket race, so it really becomes a function of the 'Golden Rule:' He or she who has the most gold is going to win."

At this early stage, that bit of wisdom seems to favor Miller. According to the most recent contribution reports filed with the secretary of state at the end of December, he leads the pack in fund-raising, with $180,165 on hand, about half from Eu and half in loans from relatives of his long-time companion. Moore reported having $89,000 with no loans; Jones, who apparently will have no primary opponent, had $136,700 and Woo reported zero.

Woo has $40,590 left over from his campaign for Los Angeles mayor last year. But according to state law, since he lost that race, he can't transfer those funds to this campaign but must either give the money back or donate it to a charity, according to Carla Wardlow, chief of the technical assistance division at the Fair Political Practices Commission. Bill Jones, on the other hand, was able to transfer money from his Assembly campaign committee to this race, a benefit current law grants incumbents.

Campaign-contribution reports tell only part of the story, however. Woo, who from 1976 to 1985 was an aide to state Senator David Roberti (D-Van Nuys), is known as a formidable fund raiser. In just 10 months last year, he raised $4 million for a mayor's race that initially drew 27 candidates. In the run-off, Woo was defeated by millionaire Richard Riordan, who outspent him two-to-one. No one disputes that Woo can count on the support of many who helped him in the mayor's race, and he's re-hired David Lang and Diane Sherman — the finance co-directors of that campaign. But running for mayor of Los Angeles, he could count on significant help from his friends in the gay and minority communities, some of whom will now split off to Miller and Moore.

"It's too bad it's Mike Woo against Tony Miller, because Mike is a proven friend to the gay community," said a Democratic consultant who asked to remain anonymous. "But if they can get an openly gay person elected to statewide office in the leading state in the country, do you think they'll pass it up?"

But others say that Woo is better known than any of the other Democrats in vote-rich Los Angeles, a benefit that others will have to pay to get — including Moore, who represents a chunk of the city in the Assembly.

"Woo just ran a very aggressive, high-visibility campaign for mayor. That has to help with name identification," said Republican campaign consutlant Ray McNally. "He's been on the Los Angeles City Council for eight years, and that kind of exposure over that period of time also helps in making someone familiar to the electorate. Running for mayor is a lot more visible than being an assemblywoman from Los Angeles."

But while Woo may be better known, Miller stands to gain from his association with an office few can fault. Several of the secretary of state's decisions have been challenged in court, but even fierce partisans say that overall, the office has been well-run, and Miller has been its chief deputy for 12 years and chief legal counsel since 1976. "As a former chief of staff to a Republican governor [George Deukmejian], and as someone who's been active in Republican politics, I think Miller has always been fair," said Steve Merksamer, an attorney now in private practice in Sacramento. "He may be a Democrat by registration, but he's conducted that office professionally, efficiently and straight down the middle, which is the way that office ought to be run."

The fact that Miller typically is given credit for running the office in recent years is not lost on him, and when asked about it he modestly defers to the woman who hired him in 1968 when she was an Oakland assemblywoman. True, Eu has had a spell of bad luck and was hospitalized twice recently, once when a burglar broke into her Southern California home and beat her on the head with an axe handle, and again when she suffered injuries in a Los Angeles auto accident. But Miller insists that it's been Eu at the helm all along. "I'm flattered by the notion that I've been running the office because it's a well-run office and I'd like to take credit for all those wonderful things she's done," he said. "[But] she deserves the credit."

Some may grumble over certain decisions that have come out of that office, such as permitting incumbent Assemblyman Rusty Areias (D-San Jose) to turn in nominating signatures a few minutes past the deadline in 1992. But the same thing was done for a few other candidates that year who claimed they'd gotten incorrect information from an employee of the secretary of state's office, according to Melissa Warren, a Miller supporter who at the time was Eu's chief media spokesperson.

But in politics, as in the real world, skill and experience are not necessarily the greatest assets. "What did March Fong Eu do [before being elected secretary of state]? She busted toilets!" said Phil Perry, spokesman for Assembly Minority Leader Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga). Perry referred to Eu's campaign to ban public pay toilets for women. "The fact is, if you've been through an election, you're half way there to understanding what the secretary of state does."

Naturally, some of the candidates take a different view.

"I'm running for secretary of state because I have a real passion for cleaning up government, particularly after the scandal in Sacramento that erupted over the last few years," said Woo, who taught at the Institute of Politics at Harvard last fall and now is campaigning fulltime. "I view the job of secretary of state as being more than a bureaucratic job; it's more than just running the office on a day-to-day basis. It's an opportunity to provide leadership on a statewide level." Woo says he has that leadership ability, and points to his record on the City Council. He says he led the fight for Los Angeles' ethics law, which was approved by 57 percent of the voters three years ago. That law prohibited elected officials from taking outside jobs to prevent conflicts of interest, and also placed voluntary limits on campaign spending. If candidates agree to the spending limits, they become eligible for public financing.

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Moore, a 15-year veteran of the Assembly, said that one of her primary goals if elected will be to increase voter participation. "If you look at the voting pattern in this state, you see a significant decline since 1972 in minority people [voting]. I just believe that I can energize them, and get people involved in the political process." One of the ways she's tried to do that at the state level was to introduce legislation to place polling sites on college campuses where students could drop off absentee ballots. The bills passed both houses but were vetoed by Governor Pete Wilson.

But even as Moore threw her hat into the ring, sources close to her said they wouldn't be surprised if she picked it up before the final filing deadline and instead sought re-election to the Assembly. To that end, she filed declarations of intent to run for both positions and doesn't have to choose between them until March 11th. Moore, whose office was one of four raided in 1988 by the FBI in a Capitol sting operation, but who never was charged in the corruption investigation, remains emotional about the episode six years later. "I made myself available and I cooperated fully from the very beginning because I just knew that I hadn't done anything wrong," she said in a recent interview. But even though she's been absolved, the issue continues to haunt her.

"I have chatted with her, and I think she's foolish to run," said a Democratic campaign consultant who asked to remain anonymous. "She was absolved, but no one will let her off the hook. ...Every story [on the secretary of state's race] is going to mention it. If I were running against her, I would use it full-time. I don't think the Democrats will use it, but [if she wins the primary], the Republican will."

For her part, Moore gave every indication that she was in the race to stay.

Moore originally was one of two women in the race, but Assemblywoman Jackie Speier (D-South San Francisco) dropped out when she learned she was pregnant. That leaves Moore as the only woman in the race, which could help her. Still, she has the "A-word" after her name, said Merksamer. "I think she's a very nice person and decent legislator. But her biggest drawbacks are that she is sharing a Southern California, minority-oriented base with Woo, and secondly, that she carries the ballot designation 'assemblywoman,'" he said. "This is no disrespect to anyone in the Legislature, but I don't think that's the best ballot designation for secretary of state; having a good ballot designation is worth a million votes."

On the Republican side, former Assembly Minority Leader Bill Jones apparently will have no primary opponents, and therefore can conserve his funds and energy while the Democrats duke it out. In the meantime Jones, who has a 1500-acre farm in Fresno, has gotten plenty of statewide attention recently for AB 971, a bill he co-sponsored last year on behalf of a constituent whose daughter was killed by a repeat felon. The bill, which would toughen penalties on repeat offenders, didn't get out of the Assembly Public Safety committee last year.

But this year, the fate of that bill has been changed dramatically, for Jones' constituent is Mike Reynolds — the force behind the tough-on-criminals "Three Strikes and You're Out" initiative that currently has captured the attention of nearly every lawmaker and a large share of the public. Jones' bill passed not only Public Safety but the entire Assembly last month and, at press time, was pending in the Senate. Jones' ground-floor involvement with the "Three Strikes" issue gives him a handy platform from which to launch his campaign.

Still, Jones will have to contend with the fact that Democrats have held the secretary of state's office for a quarter-century and want to keep it. And Jones may not be able to count on the same Republican support of those higher on the ticket, such as Wilson or incumbent Attorney General Dan Lungren. Nonetheless, he's got friends in the agriculture and business communities, and it doesn't appear he'll have any competition for the party's support.

"He's a moderate Republican who represents agricultural interests [which have] a lot of money," said a spokesman for Minority Leader Brulte. "I don't know how interested they are in secretary of state, but it's a position that could be looked on as a stepping-stone [to the governor's office]."

"I often would have put Bill in the category of too nice and too decent to be in the Legislature, [so] my impression is that secretary of state is an ideal position for Bill," said one of Jones former Assembly colleagues. "He's very fair and open-minded, even when you're beating up on him. I think those are great qualities for a secretary of state." Jones' wife is reported to have said that the only time he yelled at her in 20 years was when she accidentally washed his wallet.

Jones, who has hired Republican strategist Joe Schumate as his campaign consultant, said he's running to "ensure the

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integrity of the ballot box," and points to his background fighting the partisan drawing of districts. "When I was leader, we were able to get a fair reapportionment through the court process. ...We didn't write the plan, but we forced it to be written fairly, and in my opinon, that's the same thing."

Jones said that one of the first bills he introduced as a freshman in 1982 would have required that people who didn't vote in the previous two general elections be purged from voter rolls. Removing ineligible names from voter registration files could save taxpayers money in wasted ballot mailings, he said. Voter purges are anathema to Democrats, however, and Jones has accused the other party of being almost too eager to expand voter participation.

"There's a race to be perceived that you're enfranchising everyone, but in that race — if the integrity of the ballot box is dilluted — I think that's not what the average person wants," he said.

As Jones bides his time, the Democrats are beginning to snipe at each other. Miller has been accused of pandering to the gay community, but he sharply denies it. "I'm running on experience and qualifications," he said. "I have a certain investment in this office, since I've been here 18 years, and I've seen a lot of programs be implemented." Now, he'd like to have the chance to carry out some of the programs he's worked on, such as the motor voter bill that the secretary of state will be in charge of implementing in 1995.

Miller also says he wants to work on ways to encourage candidates to agree to accept campaign contribution limits, but adds that he doesn't support public financing. "That amounts, in many respects, to welfare for politicians," he said. "I know how a lot of campaigns spend money, and I don't think taxpayers' money should go to some of these things, quite frankly, especially given the fiscal crisis we're facing, and trying to feed hungry kids, for goodness sakes."

Miller, in turn, hints that there is a certain hypocrisy about Woo saying he wants to address the "disillusionment" that a lot of people feel about the political process when the mud-slinging in his own mayoral campaign turned off a lot of voters. But Miller adds, "I think he's seen the light, frankly. He's a smart man; he's not going to make the same mistakes again, I don't think."

Woo himself acknowledges that his campaign went dirty, and, when he announced for office, expressed his regret about it. His own campaign, meanwhile, is trying to plant seeds of doubt about Miller, saying that as acting secretary of state, he should be very careful about creating the appearance of impropriety by campaigning while being an employee of the state. "Can he be a fair broker as a bureaucrat in the secretary of state's office in light of his own candidacy?" asked Woo campaign consultant Steven Glazer.

This sniping must please Jones, who can spend the spring and early summer promoting his involvement with the "Three Strikes" campaign while watching his three Democratic rivals pummel each other.

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Soapbox

OPINION

Stop the gift-ban bandwagon

By Mark P. Petracca

Ordinances banning the receipt of gifts by government officials are quickly becoming the reform of choice for good-government advocates committed to the eradication of political corruption. Orange County started the ball rolling last spring when the Board of Supervisors passed an ordinance making it a misdemeanor for county officials and most county employees to accept any gifts from persons or companies doing business with the county.

In a year peppered with political scandals, municipal officials are under pressure to follow the county's lead. Santa Ana, the largest city in Orange County, has already adopted a similar ordinance. Laguna Niguel, Huntington Beach, Westminster, Newport Beach and Placentia are poised to join the gift-ban bandwagon as well. But further adoption of gift bans by California counties and municipalities would be ill-advised. An outright ban on gifts to public officials is a bad idea since it will neither curtail the financial ties that bind government officials to special interests, nor illuminate those connections for public scrutiny and electoral action.

A gift ban creates the illusion that since gifts are now banned, no more gifts will be given. How convenient for politicians, lobbyists and corporate executives. Gifts will still be given, probably redefined or redirected as campaign contributions. In reality, the ban does little more than define away the problem of political corruption and influence-peddling, making it virtually impossible for anyone to catch an official violating the law.

Moreover, a gift ban will not stop any elected official from violating the law, intentionally or otherwise. Honesty in public officials cannot be legislated. "We had laws before regulating the receipt of gifts and income," explained Orange County District Attorney Michael Capizzi following passage of the county's gift ban. "The reason we had a problem is because those laws were not obeyed. We can continue to pass laws and fine-tune the thing, but it's not going to change things unless we have people of honesty, integrity and high moral values in public positions."

Amen.

A gift ban will not alter the incentives elected officials have to abide by both the letter and spirit of the law. More important, it does nothing to lessen the incentive special interests have to give gifts in anticipation of a future return on their generosity. Instead of gift bans, political jurisdictions should take steps to enhance the reporting of what gifts are received by government officials and what is given by special interests.

To accomplish this, we need legislation mandating that anyone giving a gift to a government official or employee should report what they give, how much and to whom in the same way the Political Reform Act currently obliges government officials to report what they've received. Most gift-givers already record what they give on reimbursement forms and on tax forms for the deduction of "business expenses." Consequently, it shouldn't be particularly onerous to require gift-givers to report how much they've given and to whom.

This proposed legislation accomplishes two goals unattained by gift bans. First, it would create an informational check against what government officials already report. Any disparity between what a government official claims to have received and what persons or corporations claim to have given would constitute immediate grounds for investigation by appropriate legal authorities. Under current law, there's no way to validate the accuracy of what a government official decides to report or not to report. The proposed legislation would increase the incentive for government officials to report the value and number of gifts more accurately.

Second, the proposed legislation would give the public a much better view of the ties that bind public officials to special interests. Better information released in a timely fashion for evaluation by the voters is what we need to begin eradicating political corruption. Only an outraged public can end corruption. But without complete information about the "ties that bind" elected officials to special interests, the chances of throwing the rascals out of office on election day are greatly diminished.

A gift ban sounds like such a great idea. It's easy to understand and looks like a decisive response to political corruption. But in truth, a gift ban will neither reduce the incidence of dishonesty in government nor aid those committed to its eradication.

Mark Petracca is associate professor of political science at University of California, Irvine, and a frequent contributor to numerous publications in California.

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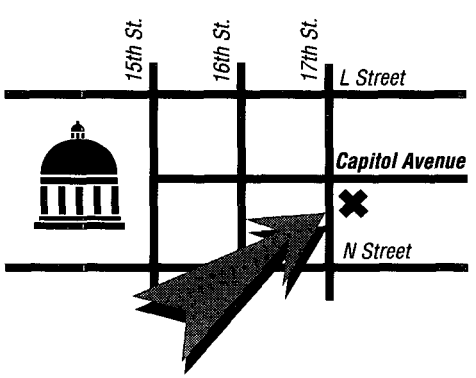

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Notebook

NEWSBRIEFS

Kathleen Brown's treasury dwarfs those of Garamendi, Wilson

Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi became the first to formally usher in the 1994 gubernatorial race when, in late January, he announced his candidacy in his tiny Gold Rush-era hometown of Mokelumne Hill. Garamendi told some 1000 cheering supporters that he's seeking the Democratic nomination "to change the nature of government." In a half-hour speech, he pledged to resurrect the economy and spirit of the "tarnished Golden State." He said education would be his top priority as governor, but he promised to reform the state's welfare system, crack down on crime and rebuild quake-ravaged Los Angeles.

"I wanted to return to my roots, to start this campaign where I started," Garamendi said in an interview. "Everything we do in this campaign is going to be different. I'm much less interested in raising money than I am in raising issues."

Garamendi's lack of interest in raising money was demonstrated in the first set of campaign spending reports offered up by candidates. His main primary opponent, Treasurer Kathleen Brown, had $5.2 million in the bank — almost five times the $1.05 million Garamendi reported he had to spend. Brown formally announced her candidacy in early February. Senator Tom Hayden, who also announced in February, did not turn in a report. Incumbent Governor Pete Wilson, who to this point has no serious opponent for the Republican nomination, reported having $1.23 million on hand. But Wilson raised nearly $6 million in 1993, with some $1.9 million going to retire the campaign debts of other Republican candidates. Garamendi, in contrast, raised about $720,000.

Garamendi campaign manager Darry Sragow told reporters that the candidate had promised there would be enough money "to keep us competitive." The implication is that Garamendi would dip into his own deep pockets to finance the campaign, if necessary. Since 1990 the wealthy rancher-banker has spent $1.3 million of his own money on the three failed campaigns by his wife, Patty, who's run for Assembly, state Senate and Congress, and for his own run for insurance commissioner. Sragow said that Garamendi will need between $2 million and $3 million for television commercials during the campaign.

The Garamendi campaign believes that its candidate's money-raising ability will pick up as he closes in on Brown in the polls. A late-January *Field Poll* showed that Brown's lead over Garamendi has diminished while the insurance commissioner actually polled better than Brown in a head-to-head matchup against Wilson. But Garamendi concedes that Brown is currently the front-runner, and that she enjoys advantages because of the money she has raised, her family's command of the governorship, and because women, who represent a majority of the Democratic primary electorate, tend to prefer a woman candidate. But Garamendi, with his support of the death penalty and greater experience with state government, will overcome Brown's initial advantage, his campaign asserts.

— Richard Zeiger and Tim Aikn

Roberti steps down as pro tem

"This afternoon, I will introduce a resolution in the Senate Rules Committee nominating Senator Bill Lockyer [D-Hayward] as my successor."

With those words, an era slipped into legislative history last month as Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti announced that — after 13 years as grand vizier of the Senate — he was relinquishing the reins of power. The announcement culminated months of speculation about Roberti's departure as pro tem. Essentially, he and Lockyer will switch places: Lockyer becomes pro tem, while Roberti takes over as chairman of Senate Judiciary.

In many ways, Roberti's tenure ended as it began and as it was practiced — quietly and without much fanfare. He came to power in a 1980 coup against former Senator Jim Mills of San Diego that coincided with, but was far less public and raucous than the speakership brawl that brought Willie Brown Jr. to power in the Assembly. Roberti and Brown were sworn in as leaders of their respective houses on the same day in December 1980.

Roberti punctuated his last press conference as pro tem with a bit of characteristic sarcasm. "Buy a book on child psychology," he quipped, when asked if he had any advice for his successor.

But the humor of that remark stands in stark contrast to the circumstances surrounding Roberti's departure, for he was forced from his leadership post by a plethora of circumstances. First, he must leave the Legislature this year — the first victim of term limits. Second, he announced last fall that he would run for state treasurer, and lawmakers who seek statewide office rarely are trusted by their caucus to devote enough energy to leadership. Third, Roberti is the target of a recall election in Senate District 20, which will be held April 12th.

When he exits the Legislature this fall, David Roberti will leave behind a sizeable legislative record, including a law to ban the sale of assault weapons. Roberti himself cited the 1989 gun law as his finest legislative accomplishment. Unfortunately for Roberti, it also is the catalyst behind the current recall effort, fueled largely by gun owners.

Roberti also leaves a less-tangible, but no less important legacy: a sense of order that allowed the Senate to operate more or less peacefully through policy debates and fiscal crises that often tore apart the Assembly. But Roberti's legacy is not without a major smudge: He was the man who elevated to positions of power three Democratic senators later convicted in federal court — Joseph Montoya, Paul Carpenter and Alan Robbins. Although it has never been suggested that Roberti himself was an

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accomplice in their wrongdoings, he profited from them politically. All three were allies rewarded for helping him capture the pro-temship, and all three remained in key positions despite growing concern over their behavior.

Some of Roberti's colleagues claim that the recall effort will strengthen Roberti. Democrat Art Torres, whose first race for the Senate in 1982 was waged against forces led by Roberti, says that the recall will drive Roberti back to his political roots as an idealistic reformer. "He is leaving with tremendous dignity," said Torres.

But it is also said that Roberti's career and the circumstances surrounding his pending departure bear all the peculiarities of a Shakespearean tragedy. Trusted allies failed him, and his most cherished legislative accomplishment now is the weapon by which his enemies seek to destroy him. After long years of service, his departure seems marked, not by grace and dignity, but by a lethal fight to the death.

— A.G. Block

Paying for the northridge quake

The Clinton administration last month proposed giving $7.5 billion in aid to California for victims of the Northridge earthquake, but the state's Democrats and Republicans still are wondering how California will meet its end in picking up costs where a state or local match is required. Estimates of the state's share run as high as $1.9 billion.

Governor Pete Wilson already has written to President Bill Clinton to ask that he "follow the precedent established after Hurricanes Iniki and Andrew in covering 100 percent of the public assistance costs." But he so far has declined to discuss specific proposals, such as a hike in the sales tax or gas tax, if the money doesn't come through. Most disaster-assistance programs require a 10 percent match from the state; some require a 25 percent match.

Newly elected state Senator Steve Peace (D-El Cajon) recommended that a general-obligation bond proposal be put before voters in June. State Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica), in whose district much of the earthquake damage occurred, has called for urgency legislation to introduce a two-year, quarter-cent sales tax to pick up the difference.

Senator Bill Lockyer, the Hayward Democrat who became president pro tempore last month, has said there may not be the two-thirds vote needed in the Senate to pass a sales tax. He goes along with the idea of asking voters to authorize a $2 billion bond sale in June. Treasurer Kathleen Brown says the $230 million remaining in earthquake reconstruction bond authority from the 1989 Loma Prieta quake could be sold more quickly. Senator Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco) has proposed that the gas tax be raised at least two cents to retrofit the state's bridges.

The president's package is one of the largest federal emergency aid package in U.S. history, larger than the $8.5 billion given to Florida and Hawaii in 1992 for hurricane damage. Most of the money ($3.4 billion) would go to the Federal Emergency Management Agency to rebuild roads and schools, and to provide temporary aid to quake victims. About $1.3 billion would go for roads and bridges.

— Danielle Starkey

Sigoloff withdrawal ends bid to appoint interim superintendent

The latest confrontation in the year-long political tennis match between Governor Pete Wilson and the state's powerful education community has ended with another set going to the educators. Sanford Sigoloff, the 63-year-old corporate takeover artist tapped by Wilson to fill the vacant job of superintendent of public instruction, has pulled himself out of the running for the job and instead accepted an appointment by Wilson to the state Board of Education.

In pinning his downfall on "partisan politics," Sigoloff sounded very much like fellow corporate bigwig Bobby Inman, who blamed a partisan conspiracy for his decision to withdraw as President Bill Clinton's choice for secretary of defense. Unlike Inman, however, the demons on Sigoloff's tail were real and a good deal more conspicuous. Chief among them was the California Teachers Association, the state's most powerful teachers' union. Three days before Sigoloff's withdrawal, CTA President Del Weber announced the union's opposition to his confirmation. Coming on the heels of critical comments by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr., CTA's opposition was the "kiss of death" for Sigoloff, as it had been earlier last year for state Republican Senator Marian Bergeson (R-Newport Beach), Wilson's first choice as state schools chief.

Whatever forces worked against Sigoloff's nomination, it's clear his withdrawal ends Wilson's abortive attempts to fill the job left empty when ex-schools chief Bill Honig was convicted on conflict-of-interest charges. Bergeson says it would be "a waste of time" to submit another name, given that the job will be up for election later this year.

Ending the search for an appointed schools chief doesn't, however, end the Sigoloff story. By moving him over to the state Board of Education, Wilson plunks Sigoloff down in the middle of another controversy — the on-going power struggle between the appointed board and the elected schools chief. Recent court rulings have dramatically broadened the board's policy-making powers and, by proxy, the governor's influence over education policy. A corporate makeover specialist like Sigoloff is uniquely positioned to help bring some order to the often-fractious board and help it better exert its influence.

— Steve Scott

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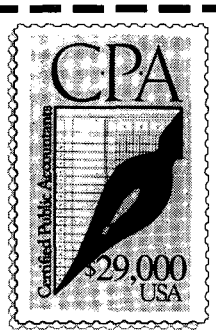

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Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Larry Liebert

Quake aid from Washington

Fred A. Morley of Free Union, Virginia, writes:

"WE SHOULD NOT PROVIDE FEDERAL FUNDS to rebuild private property! These people live in California voluntarily. Insurance was available, but many reported they didn't buy it because of cost. Why should this Virginian provide the insurance with my tax monies [that] the Californians voluntarily elected not to [buy] for themselves? That's wrong! I know Clinton wants to ensure he will continue to carry California ... but not at my expense. We need to rethink this whole concept of emergency aid from Washington. Just like those people living on the rivers in the Midwest, they knew the risk."

Mr. Morley wrote that missive to his state's senior senator, John Warner. During the Senate debate that preceded passage of $7.8 billion in federal aid for Southern California's quake victims, Warner entered a fistful of such angry letters in the *Congressional Record*, and he summarized their theme of resentment: "Is there a point we reach when we have to recognize that there are geographical areas in this country that are highly vulnerable to disaster and somehow recognize that we cannot go back to the American taxpayer time after time to rebuild the freeways, to restore the military bases, to rebuild the levees?"

Warner's point was hardly a dominant one in the congressional debate over the administration's aid package. Most lawmakers of both parties shared President Clinton's sentiment that the nation had an unshakable duty to help quake-shaken Los Angeles. That was demonstrated when the $11 billion supplemental appropriations bill that included the aid sped into law with overwhelming votes of 85-10 in the Senate and 245-65 in the House. Of course, it may have helped that the quake bill was festooned with spending goodies that ranged from $10 million for renovation of Penn Station in Manhattan to $1.2 billion for the Pentagon's peacekeeping efforts overseas.

But there were indications that the era of virtual blank checks for disaster assistance may be ending, a sobering thought for Californians who have yet to be rocked by the expected "big one."

Lawmakers turned back a spate of amendments that would have matched — or even exceeded — the cost of the disaster aid with cuts in other federal spending. Noting that this would break with the tradition of exempting such assistance from normal budget ceilings, Congressman Julian Dixon (D-Los Angeles), who shepherded the package through the House Appropriations Committee, said, "I do not believe it is prudent, wise or fair to change the rules of the game in the midst of our efforts to provide emergency relief."

Nonetheless, the final bill did include $3.25 billion in rescissions of previously committed spending, establishing a precedent that at least some emergency spending should be offset by cuts rather than just loading it onto the federal deficit.

The Senate created a task force to study better ways to anticipate and underwrite disaster aid in the future. House leaders had promised to do so after footing the bill for last year's Midwestern floods but are only now getting around to the task. One idea on the agenda will be creating a reserve fund for disasters within the regular federal budget, perhaps equaling the average annual spending on emergency aid. Since fiscal 1988, Congress has provided more than $27 billion for domestic catastrophes, according to Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert Byrd, a West Virginia Democrat.

There is also renewed interest in legislating mandatory disaster insurance. Some lawmakers think the federally required insurance for those who live or farm on flood plains should be mandated as well as for those who live along hurricane-wreaked coastlines and in fault-rivened quake country. Others argue for requiring all Americans to buy disaster insurance — in essence, a national disaster tax — on the theory that emergency aid is not only a shared responsibility but is also of potential use to almost everyone. After all, most Americans are potential victims of hurricanes or floods or tornados (not to mention an East Coast earthquake from some previously undiscovered fault.)

Although Clinton rejected Governor Pete Wilson's effort to get the feds to pick up all of the costs of government aid for Southern California — offering instead a 90 percent federal share — the quake relief package was a triumph for the state's politicians from Washington and Sacramento. They demonstrated a bipartisan unity in pressing for the aid that was undercut only slightly by the partisan bickering and maneuvering for which they are better known.

It was demonstrated February 1st, when a breakfast at the Capitol to lobby for the quake aid was attended by more leading California politicians of both parties than you'd find anywhere short of a testimonial dinner for some revered state figure, such as Mickey Mouse or perhaps Frank Fat. "I've never seen such unity in this delegation," exulted Democratic Senator Barbara Boxer.

BUT SOME OF THE USUAL STRAINS SHOWED through clenched smiles. John Garamendi told reporters that anyone who asserted that the state could pay its share of the quake relief without a tax increase was "either a fool or a liar," which wasn't exactly a warm and fuzzy assessment of his rivals in the governor's race, Republican Wilson and fellow Democrat Kathleen Brown. The former wants to use bonds, the latter came belatedly to favor a sales tax increase.

Some of the conservative Republicans in the House delegation joined the unsuccessful efforts to force offsetting budget cuts before passing the quake aid. And some of the Hispanics in the delegation were uneasy with what they saw as the immigrant-bashing behind the widely supported amendment that prohibited illegal immigrants from collecting any long-term relief. "Ultimately," Orange County Republican Dana Rohrabacher told the House, "the principle needs to be that we will help everyone with their immediate needs in the wake of a disaster, but then those who are here illegally will be sent home."

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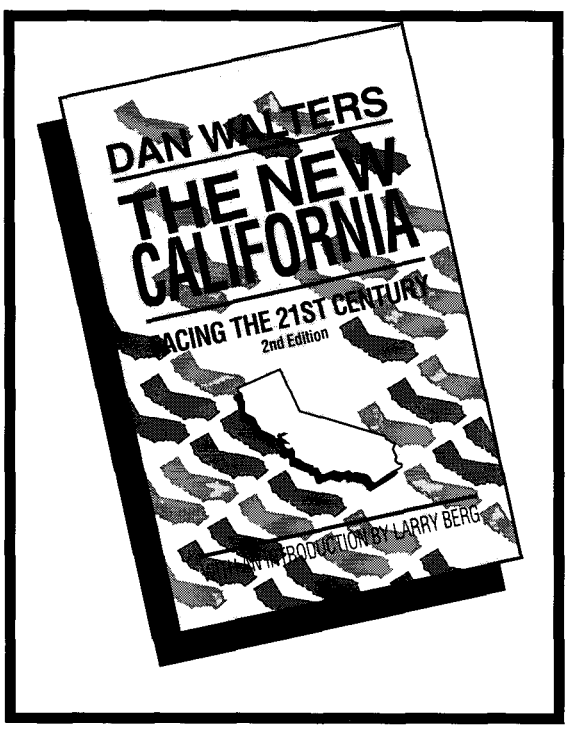

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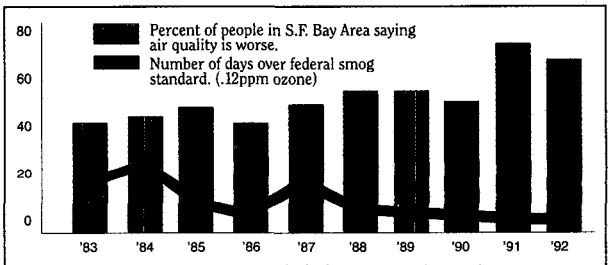

PERCEPTION: Many people believe smog is getting worse.
REALITY: In San Francisco, and many cities across the U.S., smog is being reduced.

sources: Bay Area Air Quality Management District (smog levels); Bay Area Poll/Bay Area Council & KQED (perceptions). Published, San Francisco Chronicle 8/26/93

For example, a look at the graph illustrates that progress against smog in the Bay Area was very encouraging. Yet, many people, in most years, believed smog was actually getting worse.

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**EPA report: "National Air Quality Emissions Trends 1992," published 10/93*

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